The Berber Hamlet Aldarache
in the 11th-13th centuries

Govert Westerveld



The origin of the Puerto de la Losilla, the Cabezo de la Cobertera and the village Negra (Blanca) in the Ricote Valley

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ISBN: (Lulu Editors: Hardcover: 978-0-244-37324-5)
ISBN: (Bubok: Ebook: None)

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DEDICATION

La noria

¡Oh Dios! ¡Qué bella es la noria que gira
como una esfera celeste,
aunque no haya en ella ningún lucero!
La colocaron sobre el río unas manos que
decretaron, que regocijara a las almas
mientras trabajaba penosamente.
Parece un hombre libre encadenado, o mejor,
un prisionero que marcha libremente.
Como el agua sube en ella para luego bajar,
parece la nube que toma su provisión de los
mares y luego la derrama.
Los ojos la aman porque el jardín es su
comensal,
y ella como un copero que no bebe.

(Ibn Abbar)

Foreword

What motivates a Dutchman to write so many books about Blanca? This, of course, is the first question I have heard so many times. In short, writing makes me feel free and living my life. It is the outlet for my ideas and the products of my overactive imagination. I also feel highly enthusiastic about certain matters that I wish to share with others. Furthermore I like writing about true historical events and if possible, defending the Spanish history and achievements.

When I first arrived in Blanca in 1969, I saw so many things that were completely different from the things I used to see in the Netherlands that I wanted to know more about the history of this village. Through all sorts of conversations I quickly found out that the castle had been built by the Muslims and that they could collect water from the castle via a downstream corridor. That tunnel was sealed with soil and stones over time. I learnt that the name Blanca had to do with a queen who had previously lived in that castle. Strangely, there were no history books about this village at all. Everything was based on verbal traditions. On the other hand it was very difficult to know more about the Arabic history of Murcia. When I saw the faces of the children, I quickly came to the conclusion that many of them had had Muslim ancestors. Thus I inferred that there must have been a very rich history.

Years later I was involved in the history of draughts and could find out that the first draughts books were written in Spain a century earlier than books in France, although historians believed that the game was invented by the French. It was clear that Spain never had done its homework abroad very well and that the other European countries did not master the Spanish language. Since the diplomatic language was French, it was easier to work with French documents because Spain was an unfathomable country.

On the other hand we should not forget what the professor of the Autonomous University of Madrid, Ms. Gema Martín Muñoz said: "Another old problem that exists in this country is that the rich literature and thought of Al-Andalus is not considered Spanish and nothing of these authors is taught". The existing lagoons "invite us to rethink Al-Ándalus, when it was the longest civilization experience we have had. We cannot ignore it”.

The rich literature of the eighth to the late fifteenth century also belongs to Spanish history, although it was written in Arabic, since it was developed on the Spanish peninsula which is called Spain today. One can for many years try to silence the negative moments of a country, such as the expulsion of the Muslims, but any sensible person knows that this is not history.

The origin of Blanca is Muslim, because in 1609 about 98% of inhabitants belonged to this group. After the expulsion of its habitants in 1613 this percentage had fallen to 81 in 1654, as many women of Blanca married Christians. Even in the Blanca of 2017 we observe people with darker skin because of the fact that their ethnicity could be of Berber origin.

Taking this into account one observes an amazing history of the beautiful Ricote Valley through which the river Segura meanders, and which lies less than 30km northwest of the city of Murcia. Here you enter the world of 1001 nights and feel as if you have ended up in Morocco. That is not surprising, because the Muslims have lived in this area for centuries and you can see that everywhere. They have turned this barren desert country with hills into a fertile oasis with palm trees and fruit and citrus groves. It is particularly beautiful here in the spring when the almond and peach trees are in bloom.

Along the river there are old white quiet villages and on the way you can see the irrigation canals that have been built by the Muslims to water the land. It is nice to take a walk along the river from village to

village and stop for a drink on a terrace with a beautiful view of the mountains and the river Segura. There remains a spirit and an impressive monumental and cultural heritage of the place. The beauty of its buildings and winding paths to the castle, its exquisiteness, the gardens built with such care and where everything revolves around water creating smells, tastes, and colours cannot be described in words.

In 2002 Ángel Ríos Martínez and I myself became good friends of Prof. Johnny de Meulemeester and together visited the castle of Blanca. There we proposed that he study the age of the castle of Blanca with carbon-14 to which Meulemeester gladly agreed. He requested that we seek approval from the mayor of the town for this type of investigation, while he would arrange the financial side with his university in Belgium and speak to a good archaeologist at the University of Murcia, Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez.

In those years I used to weekly visit Professor Juan Torres Fontes with whom I came into contact in the nineties thanks to the intervention of a good friend Prof. José Antonio Lozano Teruel. Those visits to Juan Torres Fontes lasted more than 15 years and on one of my visits to him Don Juan informed me that Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez was a promising professor with a bright future. Taking this into account I was lucky to one day go with professor Eiroa and all his students to the castle of Blanca during one of the courses of the *Universidad Internacional del Mar.* Seeing his archaeological investigations and interest in the Ricote Valley and Blanca I gave this professor two of my books that I had written about Blanca in 1997 and 2001, hoping that one day he would concentrate on this village. In this sense I believe that the residents of the village of Blanca can be quite happy, because this professor has written a lot about Blanca and the Ricote Valley.

It is important to indicate here that the different hypotheses in this work would be perfectly improvable if there were some kind of historiographic advance or debate around the indicated places. Taking into account that we do not have any history of the initial periods, this

book has been written in order to have a commencement about the possible origins of the Berber Hamlet Aldarache, Puerto de la Losilla, Cabezo de la Cobertera, and the Castle of Negra (Blanca) in the Ricote Valley.

This way we hopefully come a little in the direction indicated by Antonio Tovar Llorente who in 1946 hit the nail on the head saying: "In Spain, with more or less diligence, with more or less intensity and with better or worse results, we have worried about the enormous Arab contribution; we perfectly know all the Roman romanization of our Peninsula; we have tried to investigate with real curiosity what was brought to us by the Greeks, the Phoenicians, and the Carthaginians. But nobody thinks of exploring that great unknown matter that Berberization represents in our country and in our history".

Tovar Llorente was not alone with his vision. Another author, Isidro de las Cacigas, also directed our attention to the berberization as a pending issue to be resolved: "If we know the culture, the civilization, the history, the race, and the Berber language in its country of origin with great deficiencies and gaps, how can we even raise the study of its influence and contributions with even moderate success on our own peninsula?"

There is no doubt that this incomplete book will be substantially ameliorated by the forthcoming generations and all that in the interest of our village of Blanca.

Govert Westerveld

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Typical Murcian landscape
Photo: © Govert Westerveld

1. INTRODUCTION

This short book embodies in an elaborate form the research materials that I gathered for many years while investigating the origination of the Ricote Valley and its villages. I basically used translations from Catalan, Valencian, Spanish, English, French, German, and Dutch from various sources. However, this partial use of historical materials gives only a preliminary research. There is no doubt that there is still important research to be done.

1.1. Ricote

1.1.1. The 9th century

The first text about Ricote dates from the year 896. At that time the royal troops of Cordoba moved to Tudmir to regain the lost territories and fortresses. After having conquered various fortresses they came to the castle of Ricote which was controlled by Daysam Ibn Ishaq, who was allied with the leader of Bobastro, Ibn Hafsun[1].

1.1.1.1. Roberto Marin Guzman

The Arabist Roberto Marin Guzman states in this respect[2]:

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[1] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2016) *Muslim* H*istory of the Region of Murcia* (715-1080). Academia de Estudios Humanísticos en Blanca. Blanca, Volume I, pp. 121-126

[2] **IBN HAYYAN**, *Al-Muqtabis*, III, 117. This author points out that among those who drowned were important officers (*wa gharaqa minhum fi al-wadi akharun kana min wajuhihim abna*) such as ‘Umar Dhu al-Nun al-Shantari and Ghaz Ibn Ghazwan al-Talabiri. Cited by **MARÍN GUZMÁN, Roberto** (2006). Political Turmoil in Al-Andalus in the time of the amir ‘abd Allah (888-912): Study of the Revolt of

> Next to these triumphs some others took place as well, such as the conquest of the castle of Rikut (Ricote), until then also controlled by Ibn Ishaq. Here the rebels were defeated and persecuted to the point that some of them even jumped into the river to save their lives from the Umayyad armies. Many of them drowned in the river.

1.1.1.2. Elías Terés Sábada

The Arabist Elías Terés Sábada[3] describes the chronicle of Ibn Hayyān more extensively:

> In the year 283 (= 896) an army sent by Emir 'Abd Allah camped in Balis (= Velez), located on the top of the Tudmir, and from there it went to continue attacking the castles of this region obliterating all the rebellious villages on their way, till they camped before Maniya [to be read mulina = Molina, as J. Vallvé thinks], which was one of the castles of the rebel Daysam ibn Ishaq, located on Wadi Tādirü. The army continued there for several days ravaging and burning everything until they attacked the hisn or castle of Rikūt; (= Ricote) where the garrison resisted, but the Emir's army snatched the first protection wall or citadel, forcing them to take refuge in the fortress. Thereafter the army started to plunder and when some of this army returned to their camp with what they had caught, the people of the castle took this opportunity to lash out against them, but the army inflicted a terrible defeat throwing them against the river. Some of their leaders were killed and others drowned, among them the two sons of 'Umar ibn Di-n Nun as-Santarï [read as-Santabarï' that one of Santaver '] and Gazi ibn Gazwān at-Talabarï.

However, the Spanish translations of the Arab text by the Arabists Gaspar Remiro[4] and Emilio López Molina[5] are quite different.

Daysum Ibn Ishaq, Lord of Murcia and Lorca and the role of Umar Ibn Hafsun. In: The Muslim world, Vol. 96, Nº 1, pp. 145-174. Citation on p. 162.

[3] **TERÉS SÁBADA, Elías** (2000) *Materiales para el estudio de la Toponimia Hispanoárabe*. Nómina Fluvial. Tomo 1, p.183

[4] **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana, Zaragoza. Reedición de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia, 1980. pp. 76-77.

[5] **MOLINA LOPEZ, Emilio** (1995). Aproximación al estudio de Mula Islámica, Murcia. pp. 32-34.



Remainders of the ancient castle of Ulea (Al-Sujur)
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.1.1.3. Mariano Gaspar Remiro

As we can see in the text of Gaspar Remiro, the rebels of the castle of Ricote were not defeated, but the royal troop of the Omeya was:

> **Campaña de Todmir:**
> «El ejército omeya ataca los castillos de Guadix y avanza hacia los castillos de Huéneja (Wãniÿa), donde permanece unos días hasta que llegaron las acémiles con provisiones procedentes de Pechina y los diezmos e impuestos de las Alpujarras (?). Después de varias jornadas de mal tiempo, el ejército se pone en marcha y acampa en el castillo de Ragašãna de Tíjola. Emprende a marcha hacia Baza el 1º ÿumãdà II/16 julio 896. Arrecia el mal tiempo y se trasladan las fuerzas omeyas a Vélez Rubio o Vélez Blanco (Bališ), donde comienza la cora de Tudmîr. Después de dos días de lucha en torno al castillo, las tropas omeyas se dedican a asolar el territorio de Tudmîr hasta acampar en Molina (?), una de las fortalezas (husûn) del rebelde Daysam b. Ishãq sobre el río Tader o Segura, el día uno del mes cristiano de agosto. Tras devastar la zona durante varios días el Sultán Áhmed marchó contra Ricote, cuyos

defensores se aprestaron a la pelea, logrando al principio rechazar con denuedo los ataques del enemigo. Sin embargo, sobrevino un momento en que los voluntarios del ejército del sultán consiguieron hacerse dueños del primer recinto del castillo y acogerse a los muros de la alcazaba. Pero más atentos dichos voluntarios al saqueo, yendo y viniendo del castillo al campamento con su presa, que a seguir desalojando a sus enemigos, dieron pie a que aprovechándose los sitiados de la ocasión favorable que les brindaba semejante proceder cargasen furiosamente sobre los otros grupos del ejército, hasta ponerlos en derrota tan vergonzosa, que muchos se arrojaron al río en la huida, resultando gran número de muertos, unos de armas y otros ahogados. Entre ellos figuraban, como notables, dos hijos de Omar, hijo de Dinnun, el de Santover; Gaz, hijo de Gazuan, el de Talavera, y otros. Inmediatamente retiróse el ejército del sultán a la ciudad de Murcia, en la que acampó a orillas del Segura diez días, para dedicarse al cobro de los impuestos de al-Ýazîra y al-'Askar y de otros distritos fieles. El domingo primero de raÿab/14 de agosto 896 emprendió el ejército el regreso pasando por Ayn Šaytãn (Fuente de diablo) y el castillo de Aledo, donde acampó al anochecer. Faltó el agua en el camino y perecieron más de treinta hombres y muchas bestias. El caid Ahmad b. Muhammad ordenó a sus emisarios ir a la ciudad de Lorca para advertir a Daysam su intención de acampar en su territorio..... ».

Loose translation:

"The Umayyad army attacked the castles of Guadix and proceeded to the fortification of Huéneja (Wãniÿa), where it stayed for a few days until the mules arrived with supplies from Pechina and the diezmos and taxes of the Alpujarras (?). After several days of bad weather the army started to walk again and camped at the Ragašãna castle of Tíjola. It undertook to march again towards Baza on the 1st Jumada II/16th July 896. The weather got worse, while the Umayyad forces led by Hisham b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Al-Hakam and the general Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Abda moved to Velez Rubio and Velez Blanco (Balis), where the Cora of Tudmir begins. On the first Christian day of the month of August after two days of fighting around the castle the Umayyad troops dedicated to ravage the territory of Tudmir and camped at Molina (!) - one of the fortifications (Husun) of the rebel Daysam b. Ishaq near the river Tader or Segura. The river Segura was called Tader in the Latin sources and in the Arabic ones it had the name of Tâdiru, Tandâ'ir, nahr Tudmîr ("river of Tudmîr"), nahr Mursiya ("river of Murcia") and al-Nahr al-Abyad ("the white river") . Daysum Ibn Ishaq was the lord of Murcia during 888-906.

After ravaging the area for several days Sultan Ahmed marched against Ricote, whose defenders were ready to fight and managed to boldly reject the enemy's attacks at the beginning. However, there came a moment when the Sultan's army volunteers mastered the castle's first enclosure and adhered to the walls of the citadel. But these volunteers, coming and going from the

castle to camp with their prey, were more attentive to plunder than to dislodging their enemies. The besieged ones, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity of such proceeding, could furiously fight the other group of the army and to put them in shameful defeat. Many of them jumped into the river in escape, and this resulted in many deaths, many by armies and others by drowning. Notable among them were two sons of Omar, son of Dinnun from Santover; Gaz, son Gazuan from Talavera, and others. The Sultan's army immediately withdrew to the city of Murcia where they camped on the banks of the Segura ten days to engage in the collection of taxes of al-Jazeera and al-'Askar and other faithful districts. On Sunday the first of raÿab/14 August 896 the army undertook the return passing through Ayn saytan (Source devil) and the Castle of Aledo, where they encamped at Sundown. There was no water on this road and over thirty soldiers and many pack animals died during the walk. The caid general Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Abda ordered his emissaries to go to the town of Lorca Daysam to warn his intention to camp on their territory ....."

1.1.1.4. Emilio Molina López

The text of Emilio Molina López is shorter, but this Arabist also states that the rebels accounted for many deaths in the Omeya army:

"El ejército omeya ataca los castillos de Guadix y avanza hacia los castillos de Huéneja (Waniya), donde permanece unos días hasta que llegaron las acémilas con provisiones procedentes de Pechina y los diezmos e impuestos de las Alpujarras (?). Después de varias jornadas de mal tiempo, el ejército se pone en marcha y acampa en el castillo de Ragasana de Tíjola. Emprende la marcha hacia Baza el 1º yumada II/ 16 julio 896. Arrecia el mal tiempo y se trasladan las fuerzas omeyas a Vélez Rubio o Vélez Blanco (balis), donde comienza la cora de Tudmir. Después de dos días de lucha en torno al castillo, las tropas omeyas se dedican a asolar el territorio de Tudmir hasta acampar en Molina [Molina de Segura], una de las fortalezas (husun) del rebelde Daysam b. Ishaq sobre el río Tader o Segura, el día uno del mes cristiano de agosto. Tras devastar la zona durante varios días, el ejército se dirige hacia el castillo de Ricote, que ofrece gran resistencia. Los omeyas consiguen apoderarse del primer recinto y, cuando algunos regresan cargados de botín, se produce un contra ataque enemigo que ocasiona muchas bajas en el ejército omeya...
Finalmente, éste se dirige a la ciudad de Murcia donde acampó a orillas del río Segura.

Loose translation:

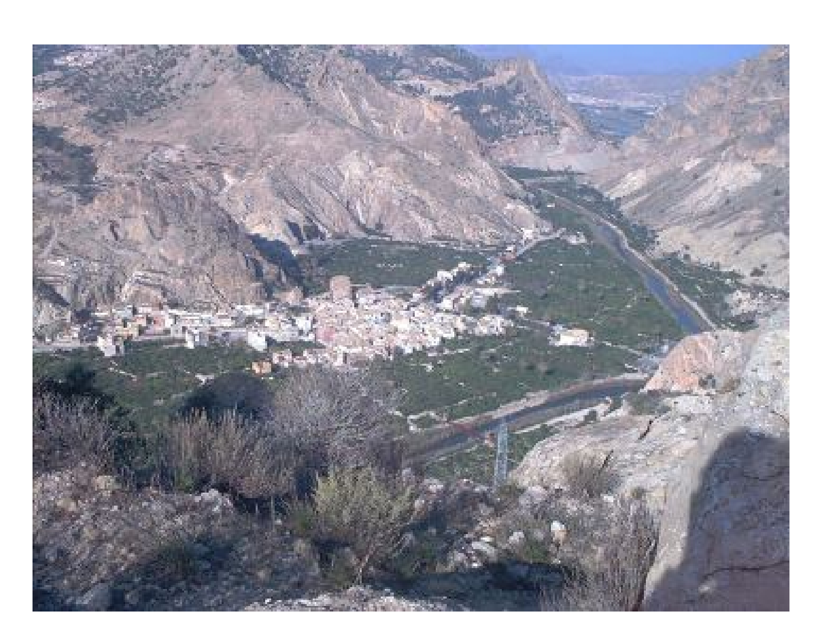
The Umayyad army attacks the castles of Guadix and advances towards the castles of Huéneja (Waniya), where it remains for a few days until the animals arrive with supplies from Pechina and the *diezmos* and taxes of the Alpujarras (?). After several days of bad weather the army starts up and camps in the castle of Ragasana de Tíjola. It starts a march towards Baza the 1st yumada II / July 16, 896. The bad weather rages and the Umayyad forces move to Vélez Rubio or Vélez Blanco (balis), where the Tudmir cora begins. After two days of fighting around the castle the Umayyad troops are engaged in ravaging the territory of Tudmir to camp in Molina [Molina de Segura], one of the fortresses (husun) of the rebel Daysam b. Ishaq on the river Tader or Segura, on the first day of the Christian month of August. After devastating the zone during several days the army goes towards the castle of Ricote which offers great resistance. The Umayyads manage to seize the first enclosure and, when some soldiers return loaded with booty, there is a counter enemy attack that causes many deaths in the Umayyad army. Finally the army goes to the city of Murcia where it camped on the banks of the Segura.

1.1.1.5. José Antonio Manzano Martínez

Manzano Martinez[6] also states that the rebels defeated the Omaya royal troops and one can deduce that the fortress was already fully configured at that time and compartmentalized in two precincts, of which the Umayyad troops could only seize the first - the Albacar, while the population continued to resist in the second one - the *celloquia*, the last stronghold from where the counter attack was launched. The defeat also serves to highlight the enormous difficulties involved in the conquest of a castle, only possible by a prolonged siege that forced its occupants to surrender for lack of food.

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[6] **MANZANO MARTINEZ, J.A.** (2002) *Arquitectura defensiva: delimitacion de entornos y documentacion historica de 20 torres y castillos*. Memorias de Arqueologia 10, 657-747. Cited on p. 680



View above the ancient castle of Ulea (Al-Sujur), high in the mountains (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

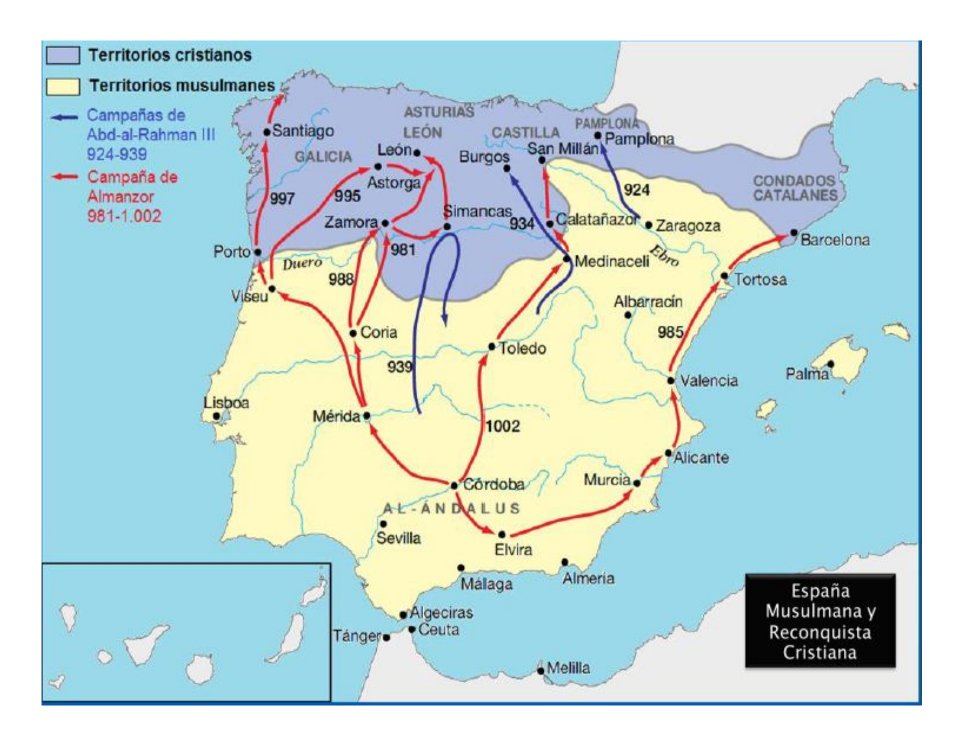
A neat reference is the excavation of the necropolis of Cabezo de Aljezar in Ricote, which provides us with first-hand information and gives us a very close look at what could be these rural necropolises[7]. It was not possible to stipulate a date.

The alquería of Ricote was probably located on a hill to the north of the current village. Next to *Sierra del Salitre* in the west, in the adjoining *cabezo of the Aljezar*, archaeologists located an important medieval archaeological site[8].

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[7] **SÁNCHEZ PRAVIA, J., GALLEGO GALLARDO, J. y BERNAL PASCUAL, Francisca** (1987) *Una necrópolis musulmana en el Cabezo del Aljezar (Ricote, Murcia)*. In: *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, Comunidad de Madrid. Madrid, pp. 149-156

[8] **MANZANO MARTINEZ, J.A.** (2002) *Arquitectura defensiva: delimitacion de entornos y documentacion historica de 20 torres y castillos.* Memorias de Arqueologia 10, 657-747. Cited on p. 680



Muslim Spain and Christian Reconquest

1.1.1.6. Dimas Ortega López

There is quite an interesting hypothesis of the researcher Dimas Ortega López[9] who thinks that the ancient Riqut was located in the *Salto de la novia,* an old Roman settlement nearby Ulea.

> «The castle of the Peñascales (Al-Sujur) is at the top of a rock whose orography prevents the location of nearby camps, with a height of more than

[9] **ORTEGA LÓPEZ, Dimas** (2002) Orígenes del Valle de Ricote: La ciudad romana de Riqut. In: I Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos". Abarán, 8 y 9 de Noviembre de 2002. Abarán, pp. 147-156. Citation on p. 154

> two hundred meters above the valley, is surrounded by a huge natural wall. How was it possible that Umayyad soldiers died drowning in 896? They would die at best stripped, and that, in case they set out on such a vertiginous precipice. However, the Rikut located in the *Salto de la novia* (bride's jump) perfectly matches the sources: double walled enclosure, located just 20 m. above the river bank and sufficient ground to install the besieging camp. The sources described thus ensure that Rikut was in the valley and not in the distant heights of the rocky peaks. This is the reasong why it has been properly called the valley of Ricote (Riqut) since antiquity».

Shortly thereafter the inhabitants of Riqut, near the village of Ulea, determined to live in another place higher in the mountains, which was the reason for the construction of the castle in Ricote that according to Ortega López dates to the 11th century.

However, Ortega López (and his defender Ríos Martínez's[10]) hypothesis is not accepted by Eiroa Rodríguez, who stated:

> Dimas Ortega surprisingly proposes placing the Rikut of Ibn Hayyán ub in the late Roman settlement of the "El Salto de la Novia"; he not only confuses this known settlement of the IV and V centuries with the Andalusian fortress located on it, the site of the "Pila de la Reina Mora" or Ulea castle, but he uses a personal interpretation of the text of the campaign of Tudmir of the IX century to conclude that "the sources described therefore ensure that Rikut was in the valley and not in the remote heights of the crags", since the orography there "prevents the location of nearby camps" even talking about "the Roman city of Rikut" (Ortega, 2002). And recently Rios has recovered Ortega's argument, considering that previous references to the XI century of Ricote refer to the place now known as "el Salto de la Novia". Only thereafter "would Ricote be at the current location, because the security offered by this situation on top of the mountain was until then one of a small fort" (Rios, 2007: 183). He states that "it is evidenced by the archaeological remains and Arab sources" without citing any specific reference[11].

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[10] **RÍOS MARTÍNEZ, Ángel** (2007) El Castillo de Ricote. In: *4º Congreso Internacional del Valle de Ricote: "Despierta tus Sentidos"*. Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Compilación de ponencias / coord. por Mª Cruz Gómez Molina, 2005, pp. 167-201. Citation on p. 183.

[11] **EIROA Rodríguez, Jorge A.** (2008) El castillo de Ricote (Murcia): Identificación y bases para su estudio. In: *Estudios sobre desarrollo regional,* 2008, ISBN 978-84-8371-794-3, p.p. 7-24. Cited on p. 18



Salto de la novia nearby Ulea and the river Segura
(Photo: www.regmurcia.com 11th July, 2017)



Restos del Castillo de Ricote
(Foto: (c) Govert Westerveld)

1.1.2. The 10th century

1.1.2.1. Al-Razi

In the 10th century a famous geographer Áhmad ibn Muhámmad al-Razi (887-955) refers to Ricote, 18km from Murcia, saying that without the presence of this mountainous area the river Segura would flood the territory of Murcia[12]. [Al-Razi referred to the Sorbente].

[12] **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Évariste**. (1953) Description de l'Espagne d'Ahmad al-Razi; *Al Andalus,* XVIII, Madrid-Granada, 1953, fasc. 1º, p. 102

> Le rio Segura (Nahr Turmid?), qui prend sa source à proximité de la source du Guadalquivir, dans la región d'al-Niska (Yeste?), coule en direction de l'Est et va se jeter dans la Méditerranée. C'est un fleuve dont le cours est encaissé entre les montagnes, dans un endroit appele Ricote (Riqut), à 18 milles de Murcia; sans la présence de cette zone montagneuse, ce cours d'eau inonderait le territoire de Murcie.



**Dam of Blanca in the Sorbente at the beginning of the 20th century.
Photo: by courtesy of María Núñez Gónzalez**

1.1.2.2. Emilio Molina López

The story of Al-Razi is related somewhat differently by Emilio Molina López[13] who added the *hisn al Sujur*:

> Al-Razi refers to the act that in the half of its course the river runs between mountains by the hamlet of *Riqut* and *al-hisn al Sujur*, 18 miles from Murcia. Al-Razi added that if this mountainous area did not exist, the water course would flood the territory of Murcia.

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[13] **MOLINA LOPEZ, Emilio** (1972). La cora de Todmir según al-'Udrî siglo XI. Aportaciones al estudio geográfico-descriptivo del SE penicular. *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, núm. 4. Granada. Vid Al-Udri. p. 35.



In the Sorbente of Ojós at the beginning of the 20th century.
Photo: by courtesy of María Núñez Gónzalez

The name of the *hisn* al-Sujur (small castle) in this period means that the castle could not have been Negra (Blanca), which strengthens the hypothesis of Ortega López[14].

14 **ORTEGA LÓPEZ, Dimas** (2002) Orígenes del Valle de Ricote: La ciudad romana de Riqut. In: I Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos". Abarán, 8 y 9 de Noviembre de 2002. Abarán, pp. 147-156. Citation on p. 154

1.1.3. The 11th century

1.1.3.1. Al-Bakri

There is an author in the 11th century, Al-Bakri, who probably copied ar-Razi, because his text is similar to this geographer[15]:



Water accumulation in the Swamp of Blanca, near the mountains of Ricote. (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

[15] **AL-BAKRI** (1992). *Kitab al-Masalik.* Edition of A. Ferré and A.P. Van Leeuwen. Tunisian, nº. 353. Cited by **CARMONA HERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2005). El Valle de Ricote en época Andalusí. In: *Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos".* Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 130.

> The birth of the river Tudmir is located near where the river of cordoba is born - in the zone of K.s.k.k. Its waters flow towards the east, and it ends in the Syrian [Mediterranean] sea. It is a river that encases the mountains in a place known as Ricote (*Riqut*) at a distance of 18 miles from Murcia, in such a way that the man "sucks" it. If it were not for those mountains, the torrent waters would flood Murcia.

Today this place is known as the Pantano de Negra (Blanca) (Swamp of Blanca) near the *Azud de Ojos*. As we know, Ojos is very near the territory of the village of Ricote.



Cieza
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)



The river Segura during its passing through Blanca in the nineties. The force of water in the tenth century was even greater.
Photo: Bruno Ibernón

1.1.4. The 12th century

1.1.4.1. Al-Idrisi

Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Idrisi al-Qurtubi al-Hasani as-Sabti, or simply Al-Idrisi (1100 – 1165), was an Arab Muslim geographer and cartographer. The castle of Ricote was known by al-Idrisi as hish Riqut[16].

> In his book Al-Idrisi describes the road from Murcia to Segura and mentions Riqut: "hisn of Murcia to Mulina which is by the river (Segura) there are eight miles, to the castle of Riqut (Ricote) there are twelve miles, to the castle of Siyasa (Cieza) there are six miles, to the castle of Qalasbarra there are eighteen miles."

1.1.4.2. Al-Himyari

Kitab al-Rawd al-Mitar (The Book of the Fragrant Garden) is a fifteenth-century Arabic geography by Muhammad bin Abd al-Munim al-Himyari which is a primary source for the history of Muslim Spain in the Middle Ages, though it is based in part on the earlier account by Muhammad al-Idrisi. It was edited and translated into French by E. Levi-Provençal in 1938. According to al-Himyari, al-Sujur is a small fortress situated by the river of Murcia[17].

The name of this place has been identified by E. Levi Provencal with a fortification in ruins that overlook the village of Ricote 293m above sea level on the right bank of the river Segura, about 30km northeast of Murcia.

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[16] **AL-IDRISI** (1968) *Description de l'dfrique et de 1'Espagne*. Ed. de R. Dozy y M. J. Goeje. Leiden, p. 196

ABID MIZAL, J. (1989) *Al Idrisi. Los caminos de Al-Andalus en el siglo XII (según el uns al-muhay wa-rawd al-furay).* CSIC, Instituto de Filología, 425 pp. Madrid

[17] **LEVI PROVENÇAL, Évariste and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI** (1938) *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d'après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, p. 144, note 1



The right bank of the river Segura where the ruins of the castle of Ricote overlook the Orchard of Ojós - (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.1.5. The 13th century

In the 13th century there are three important personages connected to the Ricote Valley. Two of them with the the village of Ricote (Ibn Hud and Al-Riquti) and Ibn Sab'in, who was born in the Ricote Valley.

1.1.5.1. History of El-Riqutí Al-Mursi

Several authors wrote about this famous personage. You will find more information about this personage in the chapter on prominent figures in Ricote.

1.1.5.2. The history of Ibn Hud

Several authors wrote about this famous personage, who at the time of the decline of the Almohads arranged to be the Lord of Andalus.



The castle of Ricote, today in ruins (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.1.5.2.1. Al-Maqqari

Ibn Húd[18] descended from Al-mustain Ibn Húd, fourth Sultán of Saragossa of the dynasty called the Beni Húd. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb the cause of his revolt was as follows: at about the time that the dynasty of the Almohades began to show visible signs of decay there prevailed an impression among the people of Murcia and other cities

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18 **AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD MAQQARI, IBN AL-KHATIB** (1843) *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: Extracted from the Nafhu-t-tíb min ghosni-l-andalusi-r-rattíb wa táríkh lisánu-d-dín Ibni-l-khattíb, by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarí.* Translated by Pascual de Gayangos. In two volumes.

in the east of Andalus that the power of their African rulers was shortly to be overthrown by a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, who would rise in arms against them, expel them from the country, and restore the Mohammedan empire to its pristine power and splendour.
Other authors assert that it was an astrologer who communicated that information to one of the Almohades, saying, " There will soon rise in this" country against you a man from the ranks of the army whose name will be Mohammed lbn Yúsuf," and that by order of the prince, to whom the information was communicated, a strict search was made all over Andalus, when all those who bore that name were put to death without mercy, and among them a citizen of Jaen. They add that Ibn Hud was not aware at first either of the existing prophecy or of the orders issued for the apprehension of all those bearing a name similar to his. One day a wise man, dressed in the garb of a faquir, came up to him in Murcia and said, "Why art thou still here? Dost thou not know that a kingdom awaits thee? Away, away! Look for Al-kashi, and he will pave thee the way to power." This Al-kashi was nothing more than a celebrated brigand, who, at the head of a few desperadoes, infested the roads about Murcia, and practised all manner of cruelties and extortions upon the country people, or the travellers who fell into his hands. On the ninth of Rejeb of the year 625 (June 13, A. D. 1228), lbn Húd left Murcia secretly and joined Al-kashí, to whom he imparted what the faquir had told him.

The brigand chief received him kindly, and, as he knew him to be descended from kings, had no difficulty in giving up to him the command of his small force. Shortly after, the two Chiefs, having made an incursion into the Christian territory, returned to their usual haunts, with many captives and rich booty, which being divulged, soon brought them numbers of adventurers anxious to enlist under their banners. Little by little, Ibn Húd's partisans increased, until, seeing himself at the head of a respectable force, he caused himself to be proclaimed [king] by his men at a place called As-sokheyrah, in the neighhourhood of Murcia. At the news of this rebellion, Sid Abú-l-'abbás, at that time governor of Murcia, left that city at the head of considerable forces, and attacked Húd; but he was defeated with great

loss, and obliged to return to the seat of his government. Shortly after the inhabitants of Murcia rose against their governor, expelled him and his Almohades, and proclaimed Ibn Húd, who repaired thither at the head of his forces and made his triumphant entry about the end of 625, or the beginning of 626. Denia, Xatiba, and other cities of the east of Andalus soon followed the example of Murcia. Ibn Húd himself reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria; and towards the close of the year 626 (Nov. A. D. 1229), Cordova, Jaen, and other important cities, sent also their allegiance to him. Seeing himself the sole master of Andalus, Ibn Húd hesitated not to assume the title of *Amíru-l-moslemín* (Commander of the Moslems), and to dispatch an embassy to Al-mustanser All-'abbásí, the reiguing Khalif at Baghdad, requesting to be allowed to hold his dominions from him,
and to mention his name in the public prayers. Ibnu-l-khattíb relates that the ambassadors returned to Andalus in 631 (beginning Oct. 6, A. D. 1233), bringing a favourable answer the Khalif, together with a letter granting Húd the investiture of all the dominions which he then held or might acquire in future. That Sultán was then at Granada, and he ordered that the letters of the Khalif should be read to the people, which was done in the principal mosque of the place.

Ibn Húd himself was present at the ceremony, and he stood dressed in the sable uniform [of the 'Abbássides], and holding in his right hand a black banner. The same historian adds that the day when the ceremony took place happened to be one in which prayers for rain had just been said, and that no sooner was the Khalif's letter read to the people than the sky was suddenly obscured by clouds, and the rain began to fall in torrents. On this occasion Ibn Húd assumed the honorary sumame of *Al-mutawakkel 'ala-illah* (he who relies on God).

1.1.5.2.2. Ibn Idari

Abū al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Idhāri al-Marrākushi, who lived in the late 13th and the early 14th century, was the author of an important medieval text (*Al-Bayan al-Mughrib*) on the history of the

Maghreb and Iberia written in 1312. He stated the following about Ibn Hud:

> Hubo otra gente que se adhirió a Ibn Hud y se dirigieron al lugar conocido por al-Sujayrat, en las cercanías de Murcia y allí lo proclamaron (.....).
> Fué proclamado Ibn Hud en Murcia el 1.º de Ramadan del año 625 que historiamos -5 de Agosto de 1228- y se llamó Emir de los Musulmanes y Mu'izz al-din –Honrador de la religión- y se intituló al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allah –el que confía en Dios-, e implantó la invocación del Califa Abu Ya'far al-Muntasir bi-llah, quien lo intituló Muyahid al-din –Guerrero de la religión – Sayi Amr al-Mu'minin –Espada del Príncipe de los Creyentes-, 'Abd Allah – Siervo de Dios-, al-Mutawakkil 'alayhi –el que confía en Él-, Amir al-Muslimin –Emir de los Musulmanes- y así se escribía en nombre de Ibn Hud al comienzo de sus cartas[19].
>
> **Loose translation:**
> There were other people who adhered to Ibn Hud and went to the place known by al-Sujayrat in the vicinity of Murcia and there they proclaimed him (.....).
> Ibn Hud was proclaimed in Murcia on the 1st of Ramadan of the year 625 - our 5 August 1228 - and was called Emir of the Muslims and Mu'izz al-din - Honorable of the religion, entitled al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allah-the one who trusts in God, and implanted the invocation of the Caliph Abu Ya'far al-Muntasir bi-llah, who called him Muyahid al-din – Warrior of the religion - Sayi Amr al-Mu'minin - Sword of the Prince of Believers, 'Abd Allah, the Servant of God, al-Mutawakkil' alayhi - the one who trusts in Him, Amir al-Muslimin - Emir of the Muslims - and so was written on behalf of Ibn Hud at the beginning of his letters.

1.1.5.2.3. Al-Himyari

Today's Ricote is at the foot of the Hisn al-Sujur or castle of the *Peñascos*, where, according to al-Himyarî, was the place where Ibn

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[19] **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (1953). Al-Bayan al-Mugrib fi ijtisar ajbar muluk al-andalus wa al-Magrib por Ibn Idari Al-Marrakusi. Los Almohades, tomo I. Traducción española. Editoria Marroqui. Tetuán, pp. 305-310. Citation on pp. 305 and 309. Vol. II, pp. 203-207.

Hud rebelled against the Almohads, starting from there to the conquest of the old kingdom of Murcia, expelling the Africans[20].

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Landscape of Abanilla - Tudmir
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

1.1.5.2.4. Ibn Al-Abbar

Ibn al-Abbar – a writer of many works - must also have written extensively about Ibn Hud. However, it is difficult to find a translation of his book *Hullat al-siyara.* That is why we can only say that 'Aziz b.

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[20] **LEVI PROVENÇAL, Évariste and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI** (1938) *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d'après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, pp. 118/144 and p. 180

Jattab was the governor[21] (*wali*) in Murcia in 1228 after the rebellion[22] of Muhammad b. Hud al-Mutawakkil i. Ibn al-albar maintained this post till January 1238.

1.1.5.2.5. Ibn 'Askar

The manuscript of *The History of Malaga* is in a private Moroccan library. Part of this incomplete manuscript has been translated into Spanish by Vallvé. It contains the followsing short text about Ibn Hud[23]:

> *Ibn Hud* – Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Hud al-Yudami, Emir de al-Andalus. Inició la rebelión en Murcia y le siguió todo al-Andalus, que abandonó a los almohades en el año 626 (30 de noviembre de 1228-20 de noviembre de 1229). Fue proclamado en Málaga el lunes 29 de sa'ban del año siguiente (13 de julio de 1230). El primer día que se leyó la jutba en su nombre y en el de los 'Abbasíes fue el cuatro de ramadan del mismo año (17 de julio). Inquietó y atemorizó a los cristianos; era valiente y duro con el enemigo; era también muy generoso con los que acudían a él y poco amigo de violencias, pero mal gobernante. Fue a Málaga varias veces y permaneció en ella hasta que se dirigió a Almería, donde entró la noche del jueves 25 de yumadà del año 635 (13 de enero de 1238). En el primer tercio de esa noche estuvo con Ibn al-Ramimi, y gozaba entonces de muy buena salud. En el segundo tercio se oyeron gritos en casa de Ibn al-Ramimi y fue encontrado allí muerto. Se dice que fue estrangulado, pero otros dicen que murió de muerte natural. El sábado siguiente llegó a Málaga por barco la noticia de su muerte.

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[21] **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1978) 'Aziz b. Jattab, descada personalidad política, cientifica y literaria murciana del siglo XIII. In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, 4, pp. 64-92. Citation on pp. 77-78

[22] **IBN AL-ABBAR** (1963) *Hullat al-siyara'*, II. Edition Husayn Mu'nis. Cairo, p. 317

[23] **IBN 'ASKAR** (1966) *Ta'rij Malaqa, apud* Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, "Una fuente importante de la historia de Al-Andalus. La «historia» de Ibn 'Askar". In: *Al-Andalus,* XXXI, pp. 237-265. Citation on pp. 260-261



The landscape of the Ricote Valley
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

Loose translation:

Ibn Hud - Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Hud al-Yudami, Emir of al-Andalus. He began the rebellion in Murcia and was followed by the whole of al-Andalus, who left the Almohads in 626 (30 November 1228 - 20 November 1229). He was proclaimed in Malaga on Monday 29 of sa'ban of the following year (13 July 1230). The first day the jutba was read in his name and in the Abbasids was the fourth of Ramadan of the same year (July 17). He troubled and frightened the Christians; He was brave and hard with the enemy; He was also very generous with those who came to him and little friend of violence, but a poor ruler. He went to Malaga several times and remained in it until he went to Almeria, where he entered on the night of Thursday 25 of yumadà of the year 635 (January 13, 1238). In the first third of that night he was with Ibn al-Ramimi, then in very good health. In the second third screams were heard from Ibn al-Ramimi's house and he was found dead. It is said that he was

strangled, but others say that he died a natural death. The following Saturday the news of his death arrived in Málaga by boat.

1.1.5.2.6. Ibn Khatib

Lisan ad-Din ibn al-Khatib (Born 16 November 1313, Loja– died 1374, Fes, Morocco) was a Moroccan Arab poet, writer, historian, philosopher, physician, and politician from the Emirate of Granada. His autobiography, written in 1369, is to be found in part of his *al-Ihata fi akhbar Gharnata* (*The Complete Source on the History of Granada*). He wrote about Ibn Hud:

> Zur Zeite des Niedergangs der Almohaden rückte Muhammad b. Jüsuf b. Hud zum Herrn von Andalus auf. Unter seiner Herrschaft erscheinen Murcia, Córdoba, Sevilla, Granada, Málaga, Almería und die zugehörigen Gebiete bald getrennt, bald uniert, während die Bevölkerung dieser Städte abwechselnd rebelliert. Ibn Hud «al-Mutawakkil-'alallah» führte den Titel «Emir der Muslime»; seine Sippenbezeichung Ibn Hud geht auf den angeführten al-Musta'in «Ibn Hud» zurück, so dass (der Panegyriker) Abu 'Abdallah b. Murg al-Kuhl in einem Lobgedicht auf ihn sagen konnte: (....).
> (Unser Ibn Hud) ware ein tapfrer (Held), edel, wohlgesittet und treu, zuverlässig, stets guten Mutes, gewissermassen unbesorgt und kurz entschlossen. Keine Truppe verdankt ihm ihren Sieg, kein Plan brachte ihm Erfolg, da er Schnelligkeit un Beweglichkeit vor allem schätzte und –noch unfertig- sich zum Angriff auf den Gegner drängte. Am 9. *Ragab* des Jahres 625H verliesst er Murcia; inmitten einer kleinen Militäreskorte und erschien vor as-Suhur nahe bei der Stadt[24].
>
> **Loose translation:**
> At the time of the decline of the Almohads Muhammad b. Hud arranged to be the Lord of Andalus. Under his rule Murcia, Córdoba, Seville, Granada, Málaga, Almería, and the associated areas soon appear separated, sometimes unified, while the population of these cities alternately rebelled. Ibn Hud "al-Mutawakkil-'alallah" led the title Emir of the Muslims; his clan design Ibn Hud goes back to the alleged al-Musta'in "Ibn Hud", so that (the panegyric) Abu 'Abdallah b. Murg al-Kuhl could say to him in a hymn of praise: (....).

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[24] **HOENERBACH, Wilhelm** (1970). Islamische Geschichte Spaniens. Übersetzung der A'mal al-A'lam und ergänzender texte. Artemis Verlag Zürich und Stuttgart, pp. 488-489.

(Our Ibn Hud) would be a brave (hero), noble, benevolent, and faithful, reliable, always courageous, certainly unconcerned, and briefly determined. No troops owe their victory to him, no plan brought him success, since he was above all convinced of speed and mobility, and he was still unfinished to attack his opponent. On 9th *Ragab* of the year 625H he left Murcia in the middle of a small military corps, and appeared before as-Suhur near the city.

Ibn Khatib related the uprising of Ibn Hūd in 1228 and placed the neuralgic center of the pro-abassi movement in a fortress known as *al-Sujūr* or *al-Sujayrāt*, of which translation is *'the penascales'* or *'las peñas'*. The fortification of Ricote is also known as the Castle of Los Penascales[25].

1.1.5.2.7. King Alphonso X

There is no room for doubt about identifying Al-Sujūr with the fortress of Ricote as we can observe in the 'Estoria de Espana' of king Alphonso X, written between 1260 and 1284 and edited by Menendez Pidal[26], saying:

(...) et esos dias del rey don Fernando, leuantose en el castiello Ricot, en termino de Murcia, vn moro que dizien Abenhut; et comenco de guerrear contra los almohades.

Loose translation:

(....) and those days of king Don Fernando, in the castle of Ricote in Murcia's terminus, a Moor who says Abenhut rose and began a war against the Almohads.

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25 **IBN AL-JATIB** (1934) A'mal al-A'lam. Edition E. Lévi-Provençal. Rabat, pp. 277-278
IBN AL-JATIB (1956) Kitab A'lam, parte II, edición E. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut, 1956. pp. 28-31
IBN AL-JATIB (1973-1976) Ihata fi ajbar Garnata, edición M. 'A. 'Inan, El Cairo, 1 (1973), III (1976)
IBN AL-JATIB (1973-1976) Ihata fi ajbar Garnata, edición M. 'A. 'Inan, El Cairo, II (1974), pp. 128-132

26 **ALFONSO X** (1977) Primera Crónica General: Estoria de España, edited by Menéndez Pidal, pp. 721-722

1.1.5.2.8. Ibn Abi Zar

Abu al-Hassan ‘Ali ibn Abi Zar‘ al-Fasi (d. between 1310 and 1320) is the commonly presumed original author of the popular and influential medieval history of Morocco known as *Rawd al-Qirtas*:

> In the year 625 (12 December 1227 to 29 November 1228) Ibn Hud, who surnamed himself al-Mutawakil, revolted in the castle of Arbuna in eastern Al-Andalus and proclaimed himself in the name of the Caliph 'Abbasi.

1.1.5.2.9. Ibn Al-Murabit

Ibn al-Murabit was a qadi in Orihuela (d. 1265) who compiled a nuptial sermon (khutbat nikah). He wrote the following about Ibn Hud:

> Desde el día 23 de *sawwal* del año 633/ 29 de junio de 1236, fecha en que la ciudad de Córdoba dejó de ser para siempre la Córdoba musulmana, hasta los primeros y fríos albores del año 1238, la persona de Muhammad b. Yüsuf b. Hüd al-Mutawakkil desaparece de las primeras páginas de la actualidad política del segundo tercio del siglo XIII, como si, por la pérdida de tan importante plaza, las crónicas oficiales no hallasen mayor castigo para el que relegado al más absoluto y profundo silencio.
> Al cabo de estos dieciocho meses, todas las notícias en torno a su persona se reducen a algún que otro dato histórico y a la fría y fantaseada referencia de su asesinato, perpetrado en Almería. Pero gracias a la documentada pluma de uno de los “secretarios" (*katib, pl. kuttab*) más prestigiosos de al-Andalus en el siglo XIII, Abü l-Mutarrif b. ‘Amira al-Majzumï , y gracias también a que parte de su correspon- dencia oficial y personal se encuentra en el *Kitab Zawahir aI-fikar*, de Abu l-‘Ala’ Muhammab. Al-Murabit, amigo y contemporáneo suyo, se abre una nueva luz acerca de la actividad política y diplomática de Ibn Hud al-Mutawakkil durante los últimos meses de su vida[27].

[27] **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1979). El levante y Almería en el marco de la política interior del emir murciano Ibn Hud Al-Mutawakkil (1236-1238). In: Awraq, Nº. 2, pp. 55-63. Citation on p. 55. See also:
IBN AL-MURABIT (Without date). *Zawahir al-fikar,* Ms. Escurialense Nº. 520, folios 94-97, 167-170.
GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano (1905). *Historia de Murcia musulmana,* pp. 267-290.

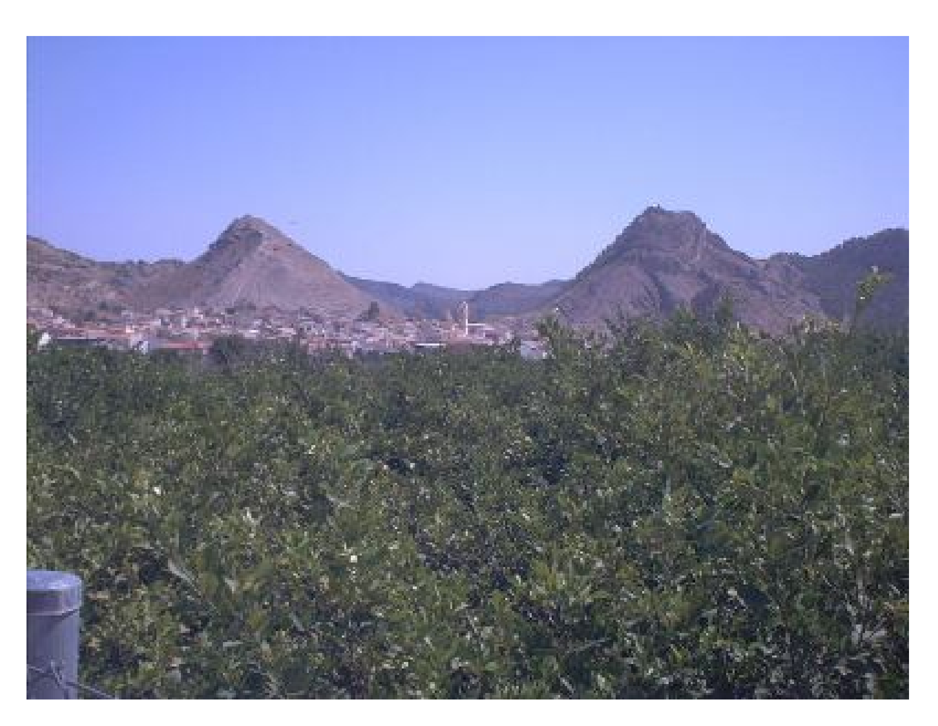


Landscape of Abanilla - Tudmir
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

Loose translation:

From the 23rd day of *sawwal* of the year 633 / June 29 1236, when the city of Cordoba ceased to be forever Muslim, until the first and cold dawn of 1238, Muhammad b. Yüsuf b. Hüd al-Mutawakkil disappears from the first pages of the political presentations of the second third of the thirteenth century, as if, for the loss of such an important place, the official chronicles found no greater punishment than to relegate Ibn Hud to the most absolute and profound silence. At the end of these eighteen months all the hype around him is reduced to some other historical fact and to the cold and fanciful reference of his murder perpetrated in Almeria. But thanks to the documented pen of one of the most prestigious "secretaries" (*katib, pl. Kuttab*) of Al-Andalus in the thirteenth century, Abu-Mutarrif b. 'Amira al-Majzumï, and thanks also to that

part of his official and personal correspondence is to be found in *Kitab Zawahir al-Kharar, Abu-Allah Muhammab,* Al-Murabit, a friend and contemporary of his, opens a new light on the political and diplomatic activity of Ibn Hud Al-Mutawakkil during the last months of his life.



Ricote (Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Landscape of Abanilla - Tudmir
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

1.2. The Ricote Valley

1.2.1. The 13th Century

1.2.1.1. History of Ibn Sab'in

There are now Arabists who do not believe in Ricote to be the birthplace of Ibn Sab'in. This makes the matter of the birthplace still more complicated. Ibn Khaldun notes that "a large group of people from eastern Spain and the Ricote valley" were followers of Hermeticism[28]. For that reason we hesitantly choose the Valle de Ricote as the birthplace of Ibn Sab'in.

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[28] **IBN KHALDUN** (1991) La Voie et la Loi: ou, Le Maìtre et le juriste. Sindbad, pp. 279-280



The millenary olive tree in Ricote
Ricote (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.3. The Ricote Valley

1.3.1. The 13th Century

1.3.1.1. History of Ibn Sab'in

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Landscape of the Ricote Valley - Tudmir
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

[29] **IBN KHALDUN** (1991) La Voie et la Loi: ou, Le Maìtre et le juriste. Sindbad, pp. 279-280

In this book we will observe more statements of Ibn Khaldun, one of whose books *The Muqaddimah* is his most influential work. Simon said about it[30]:

. . . *The Muqaddimah* is a scientific achievement of high rank. In spite of its many deficiencies *The Muqaddimah*, in conception and exposition, by far surpasses everything that had been said about human culture until the time of Ibn Khaldun, and it is of equal rank with modern works that are concerned with similar problems.

1.3.1.1. Wahda mutlaqa

The inhabitants of *Wadi Riqut* (Ricote Valley) adhered in those years to an extremist mystical doctrine known as *Wahda mutlaqa*. There is more information about this doctrine in other parts of this book.

[30] **SIMON, H.** (1978) *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture.* Translated from German by Fuad Baali, Ashraf Printing Press, Lahore, p. 11. Cited by SIDANI, Yusuf (2008). Ibn Khaldun of North Africa: An AD 1377 theory of leadership. In: Journal of Management History. Vol. 14, Nº. 1, pp. 73-86. Citation on p. 76

1.4. Siyasa (Cieza)

It is rather strange to observe that the Muslims did not write about this important city in the 11th, 12th, and 13th century. The only thing we know today is what al-‘Udri, al-Idrisi, al-Zuhri, and Abi Abd Allah al-Hajj wrote about Siyasa, which is not too much.

According to André Bazzana "It is necessary to consider that in the remote times of the Emirate the territory of Ricote covered the whole valley to the Almadenes; then it was subdivided into an indeterminate moment when the irrigation system of the upper part of the valley had been developed in relation to the new settlement of Siyasa. A new boundary (corresponding to the present Barranco del Moro) was established between the territorial domains of Siyasa and Ricote, which remains identical both today and yesterday, to how it was in the Mudejar period[31]".

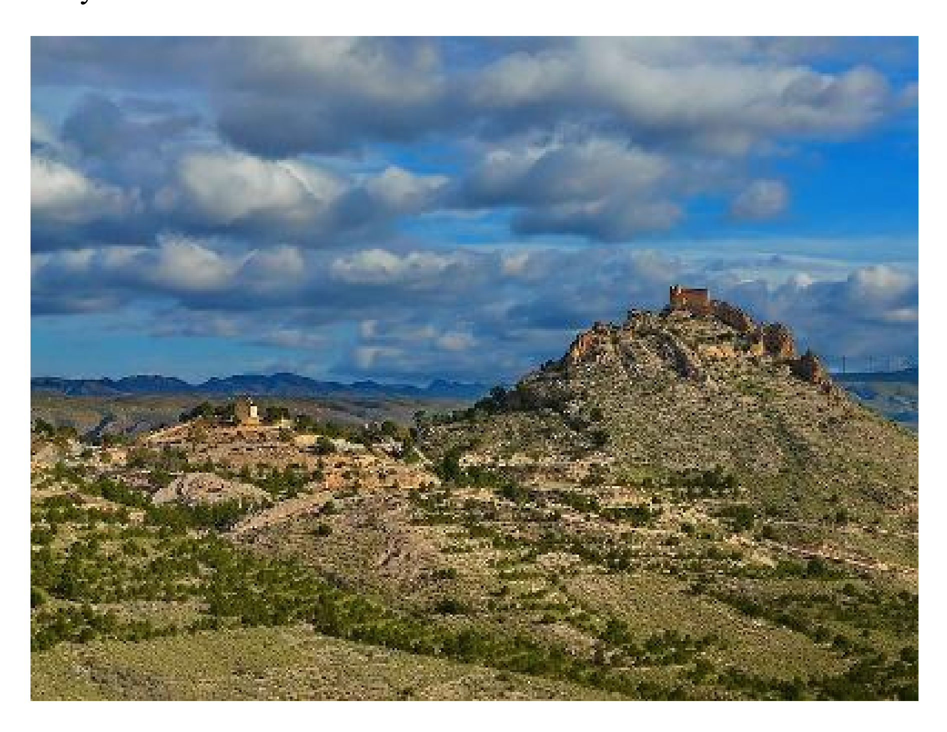
We know the remainder of this city thanks to the archaeological research and the tireless work of Joaquín Salmerón Juan who was for many years the director of the Museum of Siyasa and currently is the director of the Historical Heritage Service of the City of Cieza.

[31] **BAZZANA, André.** (2005) El "hisn", modelo de ocupación y puesta en valor de los territorios andalusíes (siglos IX-XIII). In: Actas III Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote. Ojós, 25 y 26 Nov. 2005, Abarán (Murcia), pp. 167-201, citation on p. 193

1.4.1. The 11th century

1.4.1.1. Al-Udri

Al-Udri (1003-1085) was a Muwallad geographer and historian of Al-Andalus. He seems to be the first author who wrote about the hamlet of Siyasa[32]:



Castle of Siyasa (Cieza)
(Photo: by courtesy of © Pascual Vázquez Gómez)

[32] Nusus 'ani-l-Andalus min Tarsi' al-Ahbar, ed. 'A. al-Ahwani, Madrid 1965, pp. 3-4. Cited by **CARMONA HERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2005) El Valle de Ricote en época andalusí. In: *Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos"*. Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 130

From Cartagena *(Qartaganna)* to Murcia *(Mursiya)* there are 30 miles. Up to Molina *(Mulina)*, eight miles. To Cieza *(Siyasa)*, 25 miles. To Minteda *(Madinat Iyih)*, 30 miles. Ten miles to Tobarra *(Tubarra)*. Thereafter, Chinchilla *(Santgiyala)* is 35 miles away.



The river Segura as it passes through Cieza
(Photo: by courtesy of © Pascual Vázquez Gómez)

1.4.2. The 12th century

1.4.2.1. Al-Idrisi

Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Idrisi al-Qurtubi al-Hasani as-Sabti, or simply Al-Idrisi (1100 – 1165), was a Muslim geographer, cartographer, Egyptologist, and traveller who lived in Sicily at the court of King Roger II. Muhammed al-Idrisi was born in Ceuta, then belonging to the Moroccan Almoravids, and died in Sicily. Al Idrisi was a descendant of the Idrisids, who were descendants of Hasan bin Ali, the son of Ali and the grandson of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. The castle of Siyasa was known by al-Idrisi[33]. He wrote about Ricote as follows:

> From Murcia to hisn (castle) of Molina, to the bedding of the river, there are 8 miles; up to the hisn of Ricote there are 12 miles; up to the hisn of Cieza (Siyasa), 6 miles; up to the hisn of Calasparra there are 18 miles; up to the Sierra of "La Cabeza del Asno", 10 miles; up to the hisn of Uyra (?) 12 miles; and up to the Sierra of Segura 12 miles.

1.4.2.2. Al-Zuhri

Mohammed Ibn Abu Bakr al-Zuhri of Granada was a geographer. He was the writer of a notable work, *Kitab al-Jaghrafiyya* (Book of Geography). Al-Zuhri was able to use the writings of the geographers of the reign of Caliph Al-Ma'mun of Baghdad (d. 456/1068). Al-Zuhri died between 1154 and 1161. Al-Zuhri, writing in the twelfth century, certainly knew the places where the river Segura originated because he spent his time in Segura de la Sierra[34]:

[33] **AL-IDRISI** (1968). *Description de l'dfrique et de 1'Espagne*. Ed. de R. Dozy y M. J. Geoje. Leiden, p. 196.
ABID MIZAL, J. (1989): *Al Idrisi. Los caminos de Al-Andalus en el siglo XII (según el uns al-muhay wa-rawd al-furay).* CSIC, Instituto de Filología, 425 pp. Madrid.
[34] Literature used:
Paragraphs 255-257 (according to the edition of M. Hadj-Sadok) of the Kitab al-Ya'rafiyya de az-Zuhri.
GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana, Zaragoza, pp. 33 and 35.

The river arises from the southern slope of this mountain and goes downwards to Murcia and its dependencies. This river ... of all the rivers of al-Andalus, because of its two banks people extracted water for irrigation along a journey of seven days, until it empties into the sea. The beginning of this river is a source that flows in a place called “Gorge of Yamur”; there comes from that place enough water to move five millstones. The first who drink this water are the inhabitants of a village in ... ... Then the river continues downwards and joins the river of Mesones (Misun. S). The latter river originates from the bowels of the mountains of ... , at a place called “Desfiladero de la Mina” (Gorge of the Mine).

In that place there is a mountain that has at its top a huge rock which rises in the air like a mile from the ground, and at the top of this rock, there is a big cave from where emerges a spring, which releases its water into the air about ten fathoms. Water falling on a rock, produces a sound that can be heard from far away, like the rumble of thunder. Then, the current is directed to the east, to the village known as Mesones, where this river receives its name, which is the first Muslim border. From the above-mentioned rock, a small part of the water is directed to the west, forming the source of the river Guadalimar. Consequently, the river of Murcia as well as that one of Cordoba participates in this water.

As to the river called Tindávar (Tindabar), whose waters flow to Murcia, it descends to a place called Pajares (Balyaris), where it receives an input from the river Mundo (Munyus). At that confluence is a field of red sulfur, a mineral not found in any other inhabited place on earth. It is exported to all countries of the world: Iraq, Yemen, Syria, etc. From this point to the city of Murcia there are about 12 parasangs [= about 66 km]. The river follows its course and then receives the waters of the river Calasparra (Qalasbara); thereafter it enters a narrow gorge, known as “the Strait of the Fuente Negra (Black Source). Gorge and source are one of the wonders of the world. God created this gorge halving a mountain of red marble.

Ms. árabe de la B.N. nº 4999, fº 21.

Examples: "Ayni Albirid" < al-'ayn al-barid, Ayni Alquibir <; al-'ayn al-kab'ir (J. Martínez Ruiz "Toponimia menor de las Tahas de Ferreyra...", In: Actes. XVI Congrès Intenacional de Linguística i Filología Romàniques, Palma de Mallorca 1985, vol. II, p. 320); and also "Alhaynalamar". Works cited by:

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1996). Murcia en los geógrafos árabes. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See: http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html



Inside alcazar of Siyasa's castle
(Photo: www.regmurcia.com 11 July, 2017)

The slit is formed, right and left, by two walls [today called Cañón de Almadenes of the river Segura], each of which is fifty Its length is four parasangs [= about 22 km]. Its widest part measures a marya '[= 23 meters], and its narrowest part, a quarter of marya'. There, the sun does not penetrate but when the sun is in the sign of Gemini [i.e., when the day is longer].
Through this gorge wood is passing that goes downwards in this river to the city of Murcia and below that town. At the end of the gorge is the Fuente Negra [today called 'Borbotón de Cieza].
This is a fountain gushing in the middle of the river current, sending the water through the air to the height of about a fathom. The water from this source occurs in the same riverbed and is a black sulfuric water, bitter in taste. It is said that this water comes from the source that the Christians from Madînat Iyya clogged. This city was one of those of the agreement between Theodomir, king of the Christians, with Musa ben Nusayr, when the latest conquered al-Andalus.



Cañón de Almadenes of the river Segura
(Photo: by courtesy of Roberto Lumbreras - 05.12.2010)

The fountain in question was found in that city, and it gave the water to the whole land. The Christians stopped it, and it flowed through this site. Between these places, there are about twelve parasangs. From the fountain, it flows without interruption to the inhabited places on either side of the river, over 30 parasangs, to Murcia. There are also 30 parasangs of Murcia to the sea[35].

[35] **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1998). El Noreste murciano en época árabe. In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, Nº. 21-22, pp. 59-70.



"Borbotón de Cieza" of the river Segura
(Photo: www.regmurcia.com 11 July, 2017)

And in another place Al-Zuhri comments on the irrigation by the Segura river[36]:

> From its two banks, water is extracted for irrigation along a journey of seven days, to the same river mouth in the sea.

1.4.2.1. Abi Abd Allah al-Hajj

There is an unpublished manuscript of the *nawazil* of Ibn al-Hajj, deposited in the General Library of Rabat[37]. In it there is an

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[36] **MARTÍNEZ, María** (2010). La cultura del agua en la Murcia medieval (ss. IX-VX). Editum. Ediciones de la Universidad de Murcia p. 26. The same text we found in:
CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso & POCKLINGTON, Robert (2008). Agua e irrigación en la Murcia árabe. Colección Documentos del Agua, Murcia, pp. 34 and 55.
[37] Ibn Al-Hajj, Nawazil Ibn Al-Hajj, ms. G. 55, Al-Maktaba Al-'Amma, Rabat. Cfr.

unpublished Arabic text in which Siyasa is mentioned: it is a *fatwa* of Abu ‘Abd Allah b. Al-Hajj who collects an earlier text from Abu l-Walid b. Rusd, referring to a marriage contract in which is said "in the farmstead (*garyat*) of Siyasa nearby (ala) our way to Murcia”[38].



The river Segura near Cieza
(Photo: by courtesy of Roberto Lumbreras - 05.12.2010)

M’HAMMAD BENABOUD (1995) *The Value of Biographical Dictionaries for Studying Al-Andalus During the Period of the Taifa States.* In: Actas XVI Congreso UEAI. Agencia española de cooperación internacional. Madrid, pp. 57-71. Citation on p. 68

[38] **NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro** (2007) Siyasa. Estudio arqueológico del despoblado andalusí (SS. XI-XIII). Escuela de Estudios Árabes de Granada (CSIC), p. 30

Abu l-Walid b. Rusd died in 1126, which is why the consulted citation ought to be in the first quarter of the twelfth century at the latest. On the other hand we observe that at that time Siyasa was a small village. The *nawazil* of Abi Abd Allah al-Hajj is an invaluable work for the cultural and economic history of al-Andalus. The Nawazil of Ibn Al-Hajj are being studied and edited by Professor Ahmed El Yousfi of the University of Abdelmalek Essaadi of Tetuan, but have not been published at the moment.



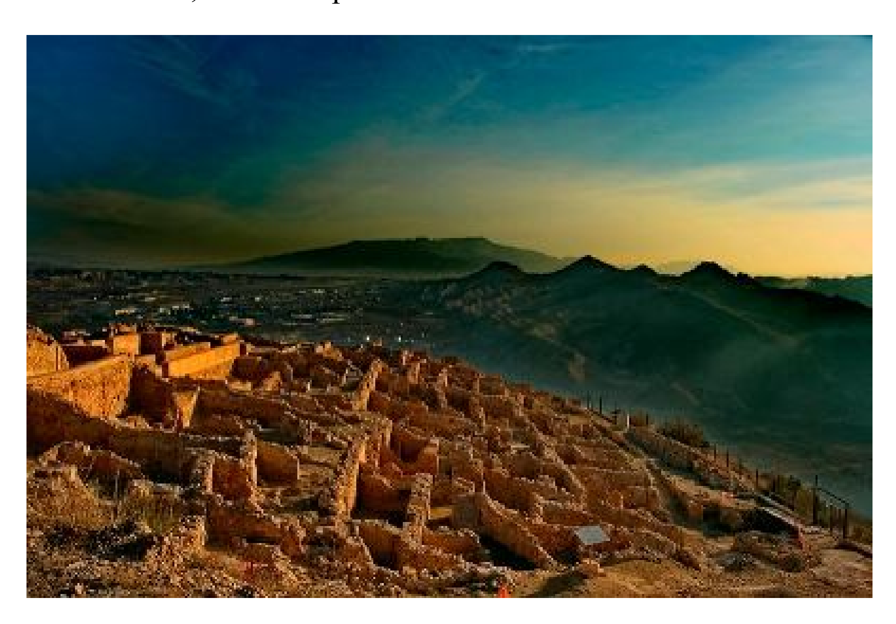
Landscape of Tudmir
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

The nawazil of Ibn Al-Haj are very important not only because of the author's great intellectual weight, but because they were written at the beginning of the twelfth century and document facts from the second part of the eleventh century. It is interesting to see that they are all

contemporary figures of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries[39]. The work consists of a compilation of decrees containing new social and economic material on Al-Andalus during the eleventh century.

1.4.2.2. The town of Siyasa

As Antonio Balsalobre Martínez says[40], frozen in time, in Siyasa, remains the monstrosity of exile; the tearing of mass expulsions for political or religious reasons. And frozen in time it has also witnessed, with some of its houses and streets unearthed, its defiant citadel and its defensive walls, this "exceptional Andalusian medina".



Siyasa
(Photo: by courtesy of © Pascual Vázquez Gómez)

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[39] **M'HAMMAD BENABUD** (2013) El pensamiento andalusí y sus fuentes durante el siglo XI. In: *Minervae Baeticae. Boletin de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras,* 2ª época, 41, pp. 185-232. Citation on pp. 229-230

[40] http://www.laopiniondemurcia.es/blogs/raices-y-alas/el-embrujo-de-medina-siyasa.html 12 July 2017

This “exceptional Andalusian medina" are the words of Joaquín Salmerón Juan[41], director of the Heritage Service of the City of Cieza, director of the excavations of Siyâsa since 2002, and one of the people who have done more to recover, preserve, and disseminate this architectural jewel. He was also the man who as director of the museum of Siyasa passionately taught me at the end of the nineties the boards of the Alquerque-9 and Alquerque-12 games found in Siyasa. This motivated me to write several volumes[42] on alquerque-12, the forerunner of draughts [checkers to the Americans] that was invented[43] by the Spaniards in 1495.

Siyasa was formed by a dense and staggered set of superimposed buildings with a labyrinthine network of narrow streets, much of which was covered. In fact the city was completely shaped by the rocky and sloping terrain on which it was erected, and with the little available space. Much research was done by Julio Navarro Palazón[44].

The settlement, which reached its highest peak during the 11th and 13th centuries, was composed of a citadel which served as a fortress, medina, or hamlet, consisting of some 780 houses from which have been unearthed 19 and a wall of about three kilometers that surrounded the whole town. The whole site occupies an area of ten hectares.

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[41] **SALMERÓN JUAN, Joaquín** (2015) “Medina Siyasa: una madina andalucí excepcional”. AL-KURRA. *Cuaderno de estudios mudéjares y moriscos.* Nº 1. Junio 2015. Vol. 1

[42] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2014-17) *History of Alquerque-12.* Three volumes. Academia de estudios humanísticos de Blanca, Blanca. (Volume III in press)

[43] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2004) La reina Isabel la Católica, su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuna de ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. En colaboración con José Antonio Garzón Roger, Valencia. (Prólogo de Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes). Generalidad Valenciana, Secretaria Automòmica de Cultura. ISBN 84-482-3718-8

[44] **NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio** (1999) Siyasa: poblamiento y arquitectura de un HISN de Sarq Al-Andalus (ss. XI-XIII). Editorial: Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, Facultad de Letras. 3 Volumenes.

NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro (2007) Siyasa. Estudio arqueológico del despoblado andalusí (SS. XI-XIII). Escuela de Estudios Árabes de Granada (CSIC)

This steep settlement was chosen because of its difficult access and easy defense in case of war. In the 12th century the site had already achieved the category of hisn or fortification, displacing Rikut (Ricote) as the capital of the region. It is estimated that at the time they were inhabited by about 4,000 people of diverse social nature. This is attested in the dimensions of the houses discovered, ranging from 234 to 29m^2 built.



Reconstructed house of Siyasa

The houses boasted carved plasterwork, mainly arches, being the oldest in the Almohad and protonazarí styles; although decorative elements of the older period are preserved: preAlmohad, originating from outside the excavated area or from the elements that were reused.

Through Siyasa we can document the way of life of its former residents. It offers an exceptional vision to rebuild the medieval Islamic period in the Peninsula from the 11th to the 13th centuries.



Jug with hand of Fatima (hamsa) – the second third of the 13th century. (Photo: Andelma[45])

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45 Magazine Andelma, Nº. 14, Centro de Estudios Históricos Fray Pasqual Salmerón. Cieza, p. 1.

Among the amulets found in Siyasa is the hand of Fatima (hamsa) on a jug that seems to be from the second third of the 13th century. The amulet protects against the "evil eye" and represents blessings, power, and strength[46]. The symbolism of the hand raised, palm outwards is to repel threatening evil. The 5 fingers represent the five pillars of Islam and are said by some to represent the most sacred people in Islam – Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Husain.

A heart-shaped amulet in stone [bronze] of about seven centimeters in length was also found, as well as a *misbaha*, with which one can appreciate their spiritual and superstitious beliefs[47].



The Cordiform Amulet exhibited at the Siyasa Museum

[46] **GARCÍA AVILÉS, Alejandro** (1991) Religiosidad popular y pensamiento mágico en algunos ritos del sureste español. Notas sobre el mal de ojo en la Edad Media. In: Verdolay. Revista del Museo de Murcia, 3, pp. 125-139

[47] **INIESTA GONZÁLEZ, José Emilio** (2007) Talismanes Islámicos en Medina Siyasa. In: Andelma, Nº. 14, Centro de Estudios Históricos Fray Pasqual Salmerón. Cieza, pp. 3-7

Curious is the fact that I witnessed this type of talismans many years ago. I have seen the Senegalese Baba Sy, the world's best draughts player in 1963, several times during his Islamic prayers with a rosary of ninety-nine corals and a black stone[48].



Pottery found in Siyasa

Other types of pottery have been found to store food and water such as pots, bowls, flasks, and jars. The decorative and especially symbolic motifs adorn them: the seal of Salamón (six-point star), keys of the paradise, and others. There are also the inscriptions in Kufic calligraphy with formulas saying: power (is of God), happiness, prosperity, and others. The inhabitants of Siyasa also used candles to be filled with oil, and portable stoves (anafes) that were filled with embers to heat rooms or foods[49].

Julio Navarro Palazón and Pedro Jiménez Castilla[50] had observed that in some houses of Cieza there was an Arab inscription that can be translated as "prosperity and happiness". This probably had to do with the phrase: "*al-yumn wa-l-iqbal wa-bulug al-amal*" *(*La felicidad, la

[48] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2015) *Baba Sy, the World Champion of 1963-1964 of 10x10 Draughts* Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca. Volume I. Blanca, pp. 29-31

[49] **VALCÁRCEL, Pedro** (Without year) Descubriendo Siyasa: https://issuu.com/perikyn/docs/descubriendo-siyasa

[50] **NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro** (1990) Estudio sobre once casas andalusíes de Siyasa. In: Memorias de arqueología, 5, pp. 525-595. Citation on p. 541

prosperidad y la consecución de los deseos)[51] and served to fortify the power of the ruler.



Cañón de Almadenes of the river Segura
(Photo: by courtesy of Roberto Lumbreras - 05.12.2010)

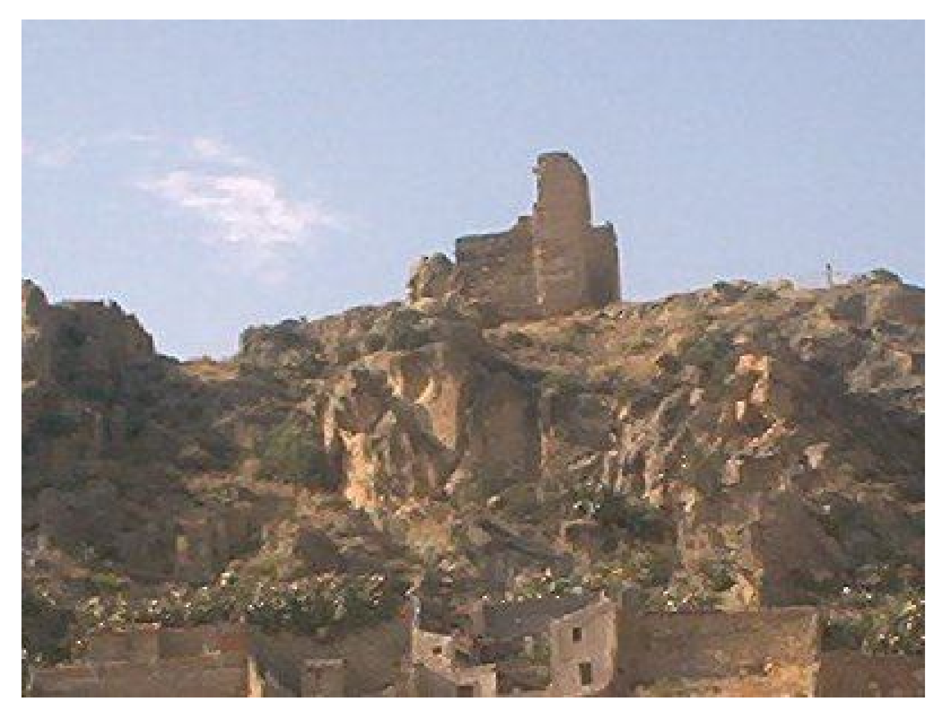
[51] **MARQUER, Julie** (2013) El poder escrito: problemáticas y significación de las inscripciones árabes de los palacios de Pedro I de Castilla (1350-1369). In: Anales de Historia del Arte, Vol. 23, Núm. Especial (II), pp. 499-508. Citation on p. 505

1.5. Negra (Blanca)

1.5.1. The 12th century

1.5.1.1. The castle of Negra

There are no old texts about the first centuries of Islamic occupation in Negra (Blanca). Belgian and Spanish researchers found that the castle of Negra (Blanca) could have been built between 1150 and 1250 and a tower was built near the castle in the 11th or 12th century. Apparently the name of the village Negra (black) was due to its black rock near the castle.



The castle of Negra (Blanca)
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.5.1.2. The granary in Darrax

Fortunately Belgian archeologists carefully studied the zone of El Darrax and found that the granary of the Cabezo de Cobertera was from the 12th century or even earlier and its construction was equal to the construction of Berber granaries found in the High Atlas. Furthermore the remainders of the granary showed that there was an oratory and a stucco sphere similar to those found atop the domes of mosques, which led the researchers to think that there was a marabout in this granary.



The granary in Darrax, near Abaran
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.5.1.3. The Haskura Berber Tribe

It is known that a short time before and a short time after the surrender of the Mardanish family of Valencia the Haskura Berbers were settled in Murcia.

It appeared that the Haskura Berbers came from the High Atlas, more or less from the same places where collective granaries are still to be found. The Berber granary found at the top of the hill in the Aït Bougmez Valley (High Atlas) is quite similar to the granary of *Cabezo de Cobertera* in *La Corona* (El Darrax).



The granary in Darrax, near Abaran
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

1.5.2. The 13th century

1.5.2.1. El Darrax

The first reference to the territory of Negra (Blanca) is from 1243 and the document refers to Aldarache (El Darrax), a hamlet in front of the castle of Negra (Blanca), but on the other side of the river. Before that time there is no reference, although the castle of this village dates to the 12th century.

With this information at hand I have tried to find a relationship between the Berber tribe of the High Atlas and the Berber tribe living in Darrax in the 12th century.



Darrax
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

2. PUERTO DE LA LOSILLA

2.1. Customs

The Customs of *Puerto de la Losilla's* Tower in Ulea was an important place in the Christian time after 1243, but from the strategic position near the Carthago Nova Roman road it is clear that the tower was a continuation of the Roman Customs.

Torre Fontes states that the name *Puerto de la Losilla* was la *Ruelda de la Losiela* in 1281[52], when on 25 March Infant Don Sancho promised to deliver the valley of Ricote with all its places to the Order of Santiago as soon as he was king. Other authors think that the name was *Ruelda de la Losiella*[53] and *Ruebda de la Losiella*[54]. Over time the name changed, because Abelardo Merino Álvarez[55] gave it the name *Larruelda de la Losilla* and today the place is known as *Puerto de la Losilla.*

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[52] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1973) Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia, Codom III, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia
1281-III-25, Agreda. - Promesa del infante don Sancho de entregar a la Orden de Santiago cuando fuera rey el valle de Ricote con todos sus lugares y Calasparra, Librilla y Alhama. (AHN. Sec. Órdenes Militares, Uclés, 293, nº 1)

[53] **VARIOS AUTORES-GERM** (1995) *Gran Enciclopedia de la Región de Murcia.* Murcia. Tomo 2. p. 190

[54] **VARIOS AUTORES-HRM** (1989) *Historia de la Región de Murcia.* Ediciones Mediterráneo, Murcia. Tomo 3. p. 356

[55] **MERINO ALVAREZ, Abelardo** (1915) *Geografía Histórica del territorio de la actual Provincia de Murcia,* Madrid. Reedición Murcia 1981. p. 99



Puerto de la Losilla (Red dot)

2.1.1. Annona militaris

To better understand the *mukûs* tax of the Taifas it is convenient to know whether there were earlier similar taxes in the Roman time. This is indeed the case with the *Annona militaris* and so we will have better knowledge of the history of P*uerto de la Losilla* near Archena and Ulea. The origins of the spa of Archena (El Balneario de Archena) date back to the fifth century BC. Near the village of Archena we have two more villages - Villanueva de Segura and Ulea. The contiguous archaeological sites of the *Salto de la Novia* and *Pila de la Reina Mora* are located on the border of Ojós and Ulea, dominating the left bank of a strait of the Segura river.



El río Segura cerca de Ojós
Foto: (c) Govert Westerveld

We speak of an old "oppidum" in height with two well differentiated areas on which González Simancas wrote in the early twentieth century[56]. Ulea[57] was another Roman village of importance of which González Blanco[58] thinks that it dated to the third century AC.

2.1.1.1. The Roman road nearby Puerto de la Losilla

It is likely that al-'Udri[59] was the first author who wrote about the Roman road that crossed P*uerto de la Losilla*:

> From Cartagena *(Qartaganna)* to Murcia *(Mursiya)* there are 30 miles. Up to Molina *(Mulina)*, eight miles. To Cieza *(Siyasa)*, 25 miles. To Minteda *(Madinat Iyih)*, 30 miles. Ten miles to Tobarra *(Tubarra)*. Thereafter, Chinchilla *(Santgiyala)* is 35 miles away.

Juan Lozano[60] was the second author who wrote about the Roman road of the *Puerto de la Losilla*:

> ...la una busca a Chinchilla, la otra al Oriente inclinado al Sur, tirando a los contornos de Tobarra y Hellín; y en un alto próximo a Cieza están visibles las

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56 **GONZÁLES SIMANCAS, M.** (1905-1907) *Catálogo Monumental de España. Provincia de Murcia. Tomo Iº. Arqueología Primitiva. 1905-1907* (edición facsímil), Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Murcia, Murcia, 1997, 161-165; *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de Murcia. Tomo II. Edad Media y Moderna. 1905-1907 (edición facsímil)*, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Murcia, Murcia, 1997, 507-509. (Kindness of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno)

57 **VALIENTE ATUÉ, S.** (1952) *Ulea. Salto de la Novia*. In: Noticiario Arqueológico Hispánico (N.A.H.), (1-3), p. 232

RAMALLO ASENSIO, Sebastián (1987) *Algunos materiales del yacimiento tardorromano del Salto de la Novia (ulea, Murcia)*. In: Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes, Volume 1, pp. 1359-1380

58 **GONZÁLEZ BLANCO, Antonino** (1991) *La ciudad romana de Ulea*. In: Verdolay. Revista del Museo de Murcia, 3, pp. 59-64

59 Nusus 'ani-l-Andalus min Tarsi' al-Ahbar, ed. 'A. al-Ahwani, Madrid 1965, pp. 3-4. Cited by **CARMONA HERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2005) *El Valle de Ricote en época andalusí*. In: *Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos"*. Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 130

60 **LOZANO, J.** (1794). Bastiania y Contestania del Reyno de Murcia. Murcia, p. 17.

> piedras puestas en orden. Corre de aquí buscando la derecha de la ermita de San Roque, poco distante del puerto de laLosilla, donde desaparece.
>
> **Loose translation:**
>
> One (Roman road) looks for Chinchilla, the other to the east inclined to the south, pulling to the contours of Tobarra and Hellín; and in a high next to Cieza the stones put in order are visible. Run from here looking for the right of the hermitage of San Roque, little distant from Puerto de la Losilla, where it disappears.

The priest Dr. Antonio Yelo Templado (1929-2015), a great erudite who knew the Latin, Arabic and Hebrew languages, wrote extensively about the lost town of Ello. He let us know that on August 10 of 1798 Lozano drew from his pedestal of mortar and stone, which served as a base, a Roman milestone in *Puerto de la Losilla* with this epigraph faithfully transcribed by him:

::::S DIVI AVG F
L N AVG PONT
:::: AX COS V
:::: TRB POT XXXIII
VIIII

Yelo Templado, born in Abarán, continues the narration of Lozano[61] who considers this Roman mile column as a unique example in the kingdom of Murcia. Its material was of *berroqueña* stone, emptied to make a trough, and measured two and a half palms in length. He notes the resolution of the Marquis of Campo-Hermoso to move it to his residence in the city of Murcia. He recomposes the inscription as follows: "Tiberius, Divi Augusti Filius, Lucii nepos, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Consul quintum, Tribunitia potestate trigessimum tertium. Millia Passum novem". According to him it depicted the

[61] **LOZANO, Juan** (1798) *Historia antigua y moderna de Jumilla.* Murcia, pp. 111-114

distance to Cieza. He observed that remnants of the Roman road "passed the Tower and Hermitage of San Roque" (Blanca)[62].



Calzada Romana en Ulea
Photo: (c) Courtesy of http://lacarrahila.org/

According to Hübner[63] this road also existed from Cartagena to the north:

> Una tercera vía, no descrita en el itinerario, salía de Cartagena hacia el Norte; así lo observó, además de Juan Lozano y otros, José Cornida en su Itinerario Valenciano (Noticia de un camino romano que salía de Cartagena para las provincias del norte y no se halla mencionado en el itinerario de Antonino. Ms. Blibl. Acad. Matrit. Est. 1832). A ella pertenece el miliario que se halla en Murcia (n°. 4945), cuya noticia debemos únicamente a un vecino de Murcia, así como los fragmentos cerca de Lorquí (nº. 4946) y en el puerto de la Losïlla (N°. 4947) observados por Lozano y Cornide. Añade éste, además, que fueron observados vestigios de la vía por el mismo o por amigos suyos cerca de la Charca de Aledo, entre las casas del puerto y del portazgo, al lado del castillo de Morón, entre Molina y Lorquí, frente a la torre del Junco, en el

[62] **YELO TEMPLADO, Antonio** (1980) La ciudad episcopal de Ello. In: *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia, Filosofia y Letras*, XXXVII, 1-2, pp. 13-44. Citation on p. 35

[63] **HÜBNER, E.** (1892). *Corpus Inscriptiones Latinorum.* Berlín, Vol. II, p. 654. Cited by **BAQUERO AGUILAR, José Julio & others** (1983). Los puentes romanos de Isso (Hellín). In: Al-Basit: Revista de estudios albacetenses, Nº. 12, pp. 47-88. Citation on p. 59.

cortijo de López, Ciézar, Cieza, Venta de la Oliva, Puerto de la Malamujer, Cañada del Peligro, Cancarix, Tobarra, Pozo Cañada, hacia la ciudad de Albacete.

Loose translation:

A third way, not described in the itinerary, left Cartagena towards the north; This was observed, in addition to Juan Lozano and others, by José Cornida in his *Itinerario Valenciano* (News of a Roman road that left Cartagena for the northern provinces and is not mentioned in the itinerary of Antonino. Ms. Blibl. Est. 1832). The military that is in Murcia (No. 4945) belongs to it (whose news we only owe to a neighbour of Murcia), as well as the fragments near Lorquí (No. 4946) and that in the port of Losïlla (N °. 4947) observed by Lozano and Cornide. He (Hübner) adds, in addition, that vestiges of the road were observed by him or by his friends near *Charca de Aledo*, between the houses of the port and the *portazgo* next to the castle of Morón between Molina and Lorquí, in front of *Torre del Junco*, in the farmhouse of López, Ciézar, Cieza, Venta de la Oliva, Puerto de la Malamujer, Cañada del Peligro, Cancarix, Tobarra, Pozo Cañada, towards the city of Albacete.

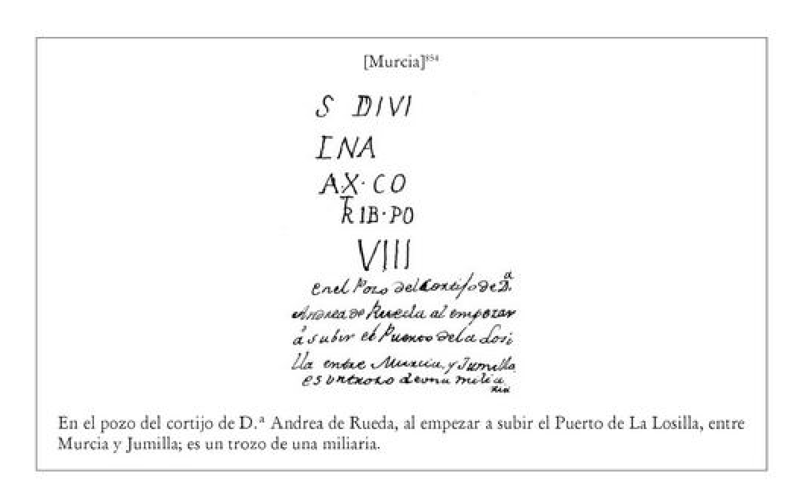
The Roman Road of P*uerto de la Losilla* was identified thanks to the finding of a milestone[64] as showed in the manuscript of José Cornide[65] and by the new findings of members of the Carrahila Association[66].

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64 **SILLIÈRES, Pierre.** (1982) *Une grand route romaine menant á Cartagène: la voie Saltigi-Carthago Nova*. In: Madrider Mitteilungen, 23, pp. 247-257
DOMÍNGUEZ BOLAÑOS, A. & NUÑO GONZÁLEZ, J. (1994) *Prospección arqueológica del trazado de la Autovía Madrid-Cartagena, tramo: Venta del Olivo-Archena.* In: Memorias de Arqueología de la Región de Murcia, 9, pp. 739-746. Citation on p. 742

65 **ABASCAL PALAZÓN, Juan Manuel & CEBRIÁN FERNÁNDEZ, Rosario** (2009) *Los viajes de José Cornide por Esaña y Portugal de 1754 a 1801*. Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, p. 301

66 **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2007) *La calzada carthago nova — complutum y sus enlaces con el Valle de Ricote.* En: IV Congreso Internacional Valle de Ricote. Ricote. 8 al 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Ricote. Págs. 339-352



Molina Templado gives complete information about the ancient roads of the villages of the Ricote Valley and states that the old Roman road crossed the territories of Archena, Ulea, Blanca, and Abrán. The building [tower] was used as a post stop by the time[67].

The archaeological record obtained from Puerto de La Losilla's road shows that this port could have been there at least since the third century A.D. It represents a main communication nexus between the port of Cartagena and Chinchilla. However, taking into account the important *oppida* Ibero-Romans related to this same layout (p. Cabezo del Agua Salada, Alcantarilla; Cabeo del Tío Pío, Archena, Bolvax, Cieza; and Tolmo de Minateda, Hellín), López Campuzano[68] cannot rule out that its most primitive use could be related to previous historical stages (S.II-III B.C.).

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[67] **MOLINA TEMPLADO, José David** (2003) *Los caminos del valle en el pasado*. In: II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Vale de Ricote: "Despierta tus sentidos". Blanca, 14, 15, 16 de Noviembre de 2003, pp. 331-348

[68] **LÓPEZ CAMPUZANO, Manuel** (1997) *Los tramos de calzada del puerto de Losilla (Ulea, Murcia): Documentación arqueológica de la posible vía Cartahgo Nova-Saltigi.* In: Memorias de Arqueólogia la Dirección General de Cultura (Murcia), 12, pp. 355-374. Citation on p. 369

In this respect Sillières is of the opinion that the vía *Carthago Nova-Saltigi* would pass through the site of Puerto de La Losilla. Its route would start from the port of Cartagena and cross *Campo de Cartagena*, to accede, once past Puerto de la Cadena, to the nucleus of Alcantarilla and from there, passing through Lorquí and Archena, to climb through Puerto de la Losilla and towards Cieza-Tobarra and Chinchilla (Saltigi), extending to Segóbriga (Cuenca) and Complutum (Alcalá de Henares, Madrid)[69].

Augustus organized a network of stationes militares on the roads of the Empire, and in the late Roman rural landscape the *turres* and *castella* were frequent defensive elements. In the Valencian zone, for example, they would survive until the Muslim era. These types of establishments could fulfill multiple functions (post, storage, control, and defense). They appear next to the main or secondary roads, related to the *horrea* of the fiscal administration and serve as bases of supply for the (*annona millitaris*)[70].

All the material evidence found in this place allows us to suppose that Puerto de la Losilla with a *turris* could have been an old Roman station used to control the passage of the road, serve as a point of support for transport of goods, and possibly as a *frumentarius* deposit (barns).

[69] **SILLIÈRES, P.** (1982) *Une grand route romaine menant á Cartagène: la voie Saltigi-Carthago Nova*. In: Madrider Mitteilungen, 23, pp. 247-257

[70] **MENÉNDEZ BUEYES, Luis R.** (2005) *El puente romano de Salamanca y su contexto histórico*. In: Memorias de Historia Antigua. XXI-XXII 2000-2001. Instituto de Historia Antigua. Universidad de Oviedo, pp. 149-184. Citation on p. 176

2.1.2. The Kingdom of Tudmir (715-779)

Both *'usûr* and *mukûs* were imposed on all kinds of personal property as well as on commodities and merchandise. Throughout most of the Umayyad period when the empire was still idealistically regarded as being co-terminous with the Dâr al-Islâm the *maks* (sing. of mukûs) continued to be deplored as illegal even when it was openly extorted by government offiicials[71].

Only in the last 100 years have we seen a great revolution in new ideas and inventions. Before that date we can quietly assume that one government continued the rules and habits of the previous one with regards to the roads and that changes did take place little by little. The Muslim troops followed the road network of the Roman period[72].

Extremely important is the opinion of Franco Sánchez who affirms control of the roads to guarantee commerce and stability, as well as collection of taxes and control of the towns:

> When we review the history of al-Andalus we see how there are a series of road stretches of essential control for the state; associated with them it is logical that towers and fortresses appeared for its vigilance, shaping the doublet castle / path an everyday reality in Umayyad times. As a result, over time, the border surveillance system of the Umayyad-period will also become a control of internal communications, being a military and administrative instrument of which the purpose was to ensure trade and stability, as well as collection of taxes and control of the cities[73].

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[71] **FORAND, Paul G.** (1966) *Notes on 'Usr and Maks*. In: Arabica, Vol. 13, Fasc. 2, pp. 137-141. Citation on p. 140

[72] **SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio** (1948) *Itinerario de la conquista de España.* In: Cuadernos de Historia de España, Buenos Aires, ed. Universidad de Buenos Aires, nº 10, pp. 21-74. Cited by **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2005) *La caminería en al-Andalus (ss. VIII – XV J.C): Consideraciones metodológicas, históricas y administrativas para su estudio*. In: Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones, Nº. 9, pp. 34-64. Citation on p. 39

[73] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2005) *La caminería en al-Andalus (ss. VIII – XV J.C): Consideraciones metodológicas, históricas y administrativas para su*

2.1.3. Emirates (779-929)

Abû ‘Ubayd al-Qasim Ibn Sallam (157/774 - 224/839) wrote *Kitaba al-amwal* around 836. He let us know that “He who imposes maks (custom duty) would not enter paradise” and, that “He sent His Messenger with Islam, i.e. it was the customary practice of the days of ignorance to impose the tithes i.e. customs duties (*mukûs*), so Allah abolished this by Islam[74]”.

The book was written at the time of a government under the rule of the Abbasid caliph al-Mu’tasim (218-227 H / 833-842 M). Abû ‘Ubayd used the Quran, al-Hadith, Athar, and his ijithad in debating governmental revenues[75].

With reference to the control and defense systems in al Andalus at the time of the Omeya we observe a type of tax system. Coming from Syria and installation in the power of al Andalus of the Umayyad 'Abd Ar-Rahrnán I Ad-Dajil (the "Immigrant", 138-172 / 756-788) would result in a deep political, administrative, and military renewal of the Andalusian state. Consequently from 138/756 we see military control and defense of the roads. Civil control also took place, since taxes were collected from these places. The local governors lived in some of them and generally these places ensured peaceful regional economy. The surveillance of the roads had to do with the two main roads of Roman times: the Via Augusta with its Manchego branch known as Camino de Aníbal and the Córdoba-Toledo-Zaragoza road[76].

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estudio. In: Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones, Nº. 9, pp. 34-64. Citation on p. 44

[74] **UNKNOWN** (1997) *The Economic System of Islam.* Taqiuddin an-Nabhani Hizb ut-Tahrir. Translation of the Qur’an. Al-Khilafah Publications. London, pp. 287-288

[75] **ABDUL GHAFAR ISMAIL & ABU BAKAR JAAFAR** (2015) *Government revenue in the eyes of Abu Ubaid – an analysis*. In: International Journal of Asian Social Science, 5 (1), pp. 1.17. Citation on p. 2

[76] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (1997) *La frontera alternativa: vías y enfrentamientos islamo-cristianos en la mancha oriental y en Murcia.* In: Actas del

Since El Puerto de la Losilla was situated near the Roman road, it is clear that taxes were required there at the time of the Roman and the Omeyas.

2.1.4. Caliphate (929-1026)

A testimony of Al-Razi[77] serves as proof that the customs post of toll existed in the Caliphate of Cordoba:

> One cannot build on any part of the land entrusted a customs post which covers tolls of passengers and travellers, and one cannot demand on them, by land or by sea, any tribute, alcabala, contribution, food tax, extortion, or expense that weighs on their property.

It is quite possible that each ruler made the ritual gesture of abolishing the *mukûs* on his accession, but would bequeath it, with some increase, to his successor.

2.1.5. Taifas (1026-1091)

We have quite an interesting testimony of the Taifas that comes from the pen of Ibn Hazm (d. 1064) who describes the fiscal and political illegality in which al-Andalus found itself after the rupture of the caliphate. The Taifa kingdoms had to pay tribute to the Christian

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Congreso la frontera oriental nazarí como sujeto histórico (s. XIII-XVI). Lorca-Vera, 22-24 de noviembre de 1994. Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Diputación de Almería, pp 237-251. Citation on pp. 238-239

[77] **'ISA IBN AHMAD AL-RAZI** (975) *Anales palatinos del Califato de Cordoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isa Ibn Ahmad Al-Razi.* (360-364 H. = 971-975 J.C.). El Califato de Cordoba en el Muqtabis de Ibn Hayyan. Traducción de un Ms. Árabe de la Real Academia de la Historia por Emilio García Gómez. Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones. Madrid, p. 143

kingdoms in order to guarantee peace. It was therefore necessary to increase normal taxes and also the number of extraordinary taxes which were entirely illegal, among them the *mukus* (sing. *maks*). Consequently it is reasonable to suppose that these taxes were also applied in Taifas of Murcia and the customs post of P*uerto de la Losilla.*

The Muslims are forced to pay *mukûs* (taxes on goods, tolls, furnaces, etc.)[78]:

> Y si establezco distinción entre este tiempo nuestro y los anteriores, es tan sólo porque antes las algaras no eran, en los períodos de tregua (*ayyam al-hudna*), violentas y públicas, como lo son hoy, y además porque los magarim (tributos) que cobraban los sultanes cargaban exdusivamente sobre las tierras, y eran por ello muy parecidos a los que 'Umar impuso sobre la tierra también. En cambio, hoy, esos tributos son los siguientes: uno de capitación, impuesto sobre las cabezas de los musulmanes, que llaman *al-qati'* y que se recauda mensual-mente; otro *dariba*, impuesto sobre los bienes, es decir, sobre el ganado lanar y el vacuno, las bestias de carga y las abejas, que consiste en un tanto fijo por cabeza; y, además, ciertas alcabalas (*al-qabala*) que se pagan por todo lo que se vende en los mercados y por el permiso o licencia que en ciertos lugares se concede a los musulmanes para vender vino. Todo esto es lo que hoy recaudan los tiranos, y ello es un escándalo infame, contrario a todas las leyes del Islam, que desata uno a uno todos los nudos que el Islam ata y que forja una religión nueva, cuando sólo a Dios compete tal atribución.
>
> **Loose translation:**
>
> And if I distinguish between this time of ours and the previous ones, it is only because the Algerians were not, in the periods of truce (*ayyam al-hudna*), violent and public as they are today, and also because the *magarim* (taxes) charged by the sultans were charged exclusively on the land, and were therefore very similar to those which 'Umar imposed on the land as well. Today, however, these tributes are the following: a capitation - imposed on the heads of the Muslims, which they call *al-qati'* and which is collected

[78] **ASÍN PALACIOS, M.** (1934) *Un códice inexplorado del cordobés Ibn Hazm.* In: al-Andalus, II, 1934, pp. 1-56. Citado por **BARCELÓ, Miquel** (1984) *Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimiento contables del emirato omeya de Córdoba (138-300/755-912 y del Califato (300-366/912-976).* In: *Acta Medievalia*, 5/6, pp. 45-72. Citation on p. 67

> monthly; Another *dariba*, property tax on wool and cattle, beasts of burden and bees, which consist of a fixed amount per head; and, in addition, certain alcabalas (*al-qabala*) paid for everything that is sold in the markets and by the permission or license that in certain places is granted to the Muslims to sell wine. All this is what the tyrants collect today, and this is an infamous scandal, contrary to all the laws of Islam, that unties one by one all the knots that Islam binds and that forges a new religion, when only with God competes such attribution.

For our matter of the portazgo Jacinto Bosch Vilá[79] gives us a better description of Ibn Hazm's text, because he also discusses the *mukûs* (singular *maks*) tax that he thinks comprised merchandise in transit from one city to another:

> In certain kingdoms of the south to which Ibn Hazm refers taxes were imposed which were not prescribed by religious law and which were consequently abusive. It is worth reproducing a few passages from the Cordovan author's famous text. Some of these *taifa* kingdoms, he tells us, taxed their Muslim subjects and demanded payment not only from the *gizya* but also from the *mukûs* (sing. *maks*). The latter consisted of duties on the entry and exit of merchandise in the markets or on merchandise in transit from one city to another, and on its sale in the markets, duties collected by the inhabitants of a kingdom of merchants subject to a rival tazfa king. Nor was this all: Jews (i.e. in the Zïrí kingdom of Granada and perhaps in other kingdoms) were allowed to collect the *gizya* — a personal tax which could only be applied by law to nonMuslims — from the Muslims themselves, as well as the *darïba* and the *qat'*. The *qat'* was an arbitrary exaction, variable in quantity, which was always high and regarded as a sort of head tax — perhaps for professional and commercial categories and craftsmen. It was sometimes extorted by violence and would seem to have been comparable in its nature and application to the *gizya*, levied once a month. As for the *darïba*, this, like the previous ones, was an illegal tax (magram. plur. magârim), exacted on the property (*amwâl*) of Muslirns which consisted of cattle, sheep, and cows, beasts of burden and honeycombs. It was composed of a certain amount per head and per honeycomb, while the various excise taxes (*qabâlât*) — alcabala

[79] **BOSCH VILÁ, Jacinto** (1988) *The Administrative History of Al-Andalus. An approach.* In: Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung. Der Nahe under der Mittlere Osten. Sechster Band: Geschichte der Islamischen Länder. Fünfter Abschnitt: Regierung und Verwaltung des vorderen Orients in Islamischer Zeit. Teil 2, pp. 111-112

in Spanish — had to be paid in order to practise a profession, to sell products in the markets, and, by Muslims, to be allowed to sell wine in certain places.

With the fragmentation of the empire and the establishment of many autonomous regimes the *maks* came to be an ordinary tax which in time came to be applied mainly in the sense of "customs dues". But even though the practice was officially recognized by most Muslim governments, purists (e.g. al- Suyûti in his *Risâla fi damm al-maks*)[80] continued to deplore it.

2.1.6. The Almoravids (1091-1144)

The Almoravids built very little in Spain. The troops from the Almoravid garrison were never far away. Taxes on commodities sold in the marketplace were precisely the taxes that the *fuqaha* consistently condemned and the Almoravids had promised to abolish - a promise which at first won them popularity, but eventually proved unworkable. The Almoravids could not sustain their *jihad* against the Christians in Andalusia and their war against the Almohads without raising taxes. Thus the two cornerstones of their ideology, *jihad* and 'no nonQuranic taxes', turned out to be mutually exclusive. This dilemma proved ultimately fatal. Raising taxes was so distasteful that they even brought in Christian mercenaries to collect them. Reversing their initial tax policy caused the regime to lose credibility[81].

In theory the taxes should be exclusively canonical, i.e. the *azaque* for the Muslims and the *yizya* and *jaray* for the dimmíes. Both the Almoravids and the Almohads repeatedly boasted suppression of

[80] **FORAND, Paul G.** (1966) *Notes on 'Usr and Maks*. In: Arabica, Vol. 13, Fasc. 2, pp. 137-141. Citation on p. 140

[81] **MESSIER, Ronald A.** (2001) *Re-thinking the Almoravids, re-thinking Ibn Khaldun*. In: *The Journal of North African Studies*, 6:1, pp. 59-80. Citation on pp. 68, 69, 71 and 74

illegal charges (*mukûs, jara'id, magarim, qabéiléit*)[82]. However, few states were free to violate this rule. Not even the Almoravids, whose main promise was to return to the Koranic rule, were able to resist demanding fiscal burdens higher than the Koranic ones.
As we have observed on earlier pages, from the period of 138-756 we firstly saw military control and defense of the roads. Civil control also took place, since taxes were collected from these places. In some of them lived the local governors and in general these places ensured peaceful regional economy. This surveillance of the roads was linked to the two main roads of Roman times: Via Augusta with its interior Manchego branch known as *Camino de Aníbal* and the Córdoba-Toledo-Zaragoza road[83].

What then was the situation like for P*uerto de la Losilla* at the time of the Almoravids and which tax was used? With deeper analysis and knowledge of the control systems of the Almoravids' time we encounter serious problems connected to lack of sources.

As we have seen in the Omayas' time, the *mukûs* tax was used in those years, thus also in P*uerto de la Losilla*, because it was situated near the Roman road to Murcia. It is therefore logical to suppose that something similar was the case at the time of the Almoravids. The Almoravids had promised to abolish certain taxes, the *mukûs* among them, but after several years this proved to be unworkable. Consequently the Almoravids had to raise taxes to sustain their *jihad* against the Christians in Andalusia. And they could do so easily, because their wealth resulted from their control over a wide network of

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[82] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista*. Universidad de Valencia, pp. 338-340 Cited by **TORRÓ, Josep** (2001-2002) *La exterioridad del poder legal y los estados andalusíes*. Elementos para una discusión. In: Revista d'historia medieval, Nº. 12, pp. 331-348. Citation on p. 335

[83] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (1997) *La frontera alternativa: vías y enfrentamientos islamo-cristianos en la mancha oriental y en Murcia*. In: Actas del Congreso la frontera oriental nazarí como sujeto histórico (s. XIII-XVI). Lorca-Vera, 22-24 de noviembre de 1994. Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Diputación de Almería, pp 237-251. Citation on pp. 238-239

trade routes that stretched across the empire[84]. It is difficult to tell in which year they reintroduced the *mukûs* or portazgo in P*uerto de La Losilla,* because Buresi's information does not concretely refer to this issue[85]:

> Comme bien d'autres avant et aprés lui, le mouvement de réforme incarné par les Almoravides prétendit «restaurer» la foi authentique des premiers temps de l'islam, contribuant ainsi à en construire le modèle, qui n'a jamais cessé d'évoluer. Yûsuf b. Tâshfîn légitime son pouvoir sur les autres princes musulmans, en particulier andalous, en prônant le djihad contre les Infidèles et le respect d'une fiscalité coranique: *zakât* («aumône légale») sur les fidèles, *kharâj* («impôt foncier») sur les terres, et *djizya* («capitation») sur les *dhimmî-s* («tributaires» ou «protégés», chrétiens et juifs). À partir des années 1120, plusieurs défaites militaires contre les princes chrétiens de la péninsule Ibérique, et l'accroissement consécutif de la pression fiscale à travers des taxes supplémentaires (*maghârim, mukûs*) sapent les deux piliers sur lesquels les Almoravides avaient bâti leur légitímité et provoquent le mécontentement des populations andalouses et maghrébines.

Apparently it was in 1120 when the Almoravids decided to start using the *mukûs* tax again. Since we do not have a concrete reference, we can only refer to the list of six references that Buresi left at the end of his study.

2.1.7. Ibn Mardanish (1145-1172)

The castle of Portazgo of Puerto de Cadena is situated on the main road between Murcia and Cartagena. Francisco J. Sánchez Medrano and Pilar Vallalta Martínez believe that this castle originates from between the mid 13th and the 16th century. They think that the position of the castle of Portazgo with the natural passage of the Rambla and the characteristics of the space with the predominance of an open closed patio fenced with sloping base corroborates the

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[84] **MESSIER, Ronald A.** (2001) *Rethinking the Almoravids, Rethinking Ibn Khaldun*. In: North Africa, Islam, and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War. Frank Cass Publishers. London, pp. 59-80

[85] **BURESI, Pascal** (2014) *Les Almoravides*. In: C. Aillet, E. Tixier et É. Vallet (dirs.). Gouverner en Islam, Xe siècle, Atlande, pp. 295-300. Citation on p. 296

character of a building dedicated to the tasks of economic control, collection of *mukûs*, count of livestock, and spare of posts.

Juan Eslava Galán[86] gives us full information about the construction material and way of building of the medieval fortification. He dates the 0.80m high walls (tapias) between the 12th and 13th century. If this castle was indeed built in this period, then Ibn Mardanish used the place to collect the *mukûs* tax. Maybe this was not the case at the beginning of his reign. However, since he had to pay more each day to the Christian kings to be free from war, it is logical to suspect that Ibn Mardanish had to collect the *mukûs* tax too.

2.1.8. The Almohads (1172-1228)

Deliveries in kind - in this case wheat to the granaries - were made to the Customs of Ruebda de la Losilla by the taxpayers. But did any types of customs also exist in La Losilla at the time of the Almohads? The Koran permitted customs dues to be levied only on nonMuslims, but it was a well-established practice to collect the *mukûs* tax from all merchants and it provided a major source of state revenue. There was also a tax on commodities. These two taxes stirred a lot of protests at the time of the Taifa kings and the Almoravids had promised to abolish this type of illegal taxes[87]. The disadvantage of this system was that other taxes bore heavily on agriculture as opposed to trade and that they never produced sufficient revenue to sustain a bureaucratic and military state.

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[86] **ESLAVA GALÁN, Juan** (1984) *Materiales y técnicas constructivas en la fortificación bajomedieval*. In: Cuadernos de estudios medievales, 12-13, pp. 271-278

[87] **MESSIER, Ronald A.** (2010) *The Almoravids and the meaning of Jihad*. Praeger. Santa Barbara, California. Denver, Colorado. Oxford, England, pp. 90-91

The Almohads came to power around 1144 in Spain. ‘Abd al-Mu’min instructed his governors in 1153 to suppress taxes such as *mukûs, magârim, darâ’ib,* and *qabâlât*[88].

Message d’exhortations a la population de Constantine avant sa soumission aux Almohadas.

Ms.: 93 r° - 95 r°, Ed.: pp. 17-22.
Rédacteur: Abû Ja‘far lbn ‘At’iya.
De l’émir des Croyants (‘Abd al-Mu’min), aux s’aik’s, aux notables et à l’ensemble de la population de Constantine.
De Bougie, le 24 jumâdâ I 547 (27 août 1152).

Aprés avoir rappelé comment Allâh a favorisé la conquête de la région orientale du Mag’rib par les Almohades, le souverain informe ses correspondants qu’il a jugé bon de leur écrire, afin de les inviter á se soumettre au régime unitaire. Il les engage à se hâter de répondre par l’afflrmative à son invitation, et il leur montre les avantages matériels et moraux qu’ils retireront de leur adhésíon. Puis il leur rappelle comment les anciens maitres du pays, après avoir dédaigné les moyens de persuasion employés pour les gagner à la cause almohada, ont fini par subir le châtiment mérité par leur impiété, leur aveuglement et leur empressement à suivre les inspirations du démon.

Il leur expose ensuíte la manière digne d’éloges dont s’est comporté, dans la région de Bougie récemment conquise, le général (*qa’id*) Abû Muh’ammad Maimûn b. ‘Ali Ibn H’amdûn, qui a fait sa soumission. Auparavant déjà, les t’âlibs almohades de Bougie et les commerçants avaient fait connaître ses bonnes dispositions, que son adhésion au régime a confirmées avec éclat. Ce général, ainsi que son frère, le juriste (*faqih*) Abû ‘Abd ‘Allâh Muh’ammad b. ‘Ali Ibn H’amdûn, et tous leurs fils et proches parents, sont maintenant pourvus de postes de choix.

Pour en revenir aux destinataires eux-mêmes, le souverain les exhorte vivement à se soumettre et leur promet *l’amán.* Leur pays, dans le passé, a eu à subir des vexations illégales, gabelles (*qabâlât*), taxes (*mukûs*), amendes (*mag’ârim*), de la part des misérables qui y régnaient et de leurs gouverneurs: ils ne se souciaient pas de leur appliquer exclusivement la législation des impôts obligatoires (*zakâ*t et *dîme*). Mais, grâce à la réforme réalisée par le Mahdi, cet état de choses impie a été aboli, et les Almohades n’exigent de

[88] **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, E.** (1941) *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades.* In Hesperis, Tome XXVIII, pp. 1-80. Citation on p. 28

> leurs sujets que les redevances fixées par la Sunna, et non plus les taxes abusives que les anciens maîtres du pays avaient instituées, en les appelant de leurs propres noms.

This had no consequences in the territory of Tudmir where Ibn Mardanish reigned from 1145 till 1172. The Almohads could establish themselves in Murcia in 1172 and it is quite possible that they did not use the *mukûs* tax for several years. However, it is logical to suspect that everything changed in 1212 when they were defeated by King Alfonso VIII of Castile.

In 1211 Muhammad al-Nasir (Miramamolín in the Spanish chronicles) crossed the Strait of Gibraltar with a powerful army, invaded the Christian territory, and captured the Salvatierra Castle - the stronghold of the knights of the Order of Calatrava. The threat to the Hispanic Christian kingdoms was so great that Pope Innocent III called European knights to a crusade.

In 1212 Muhammad III "al-Nasir" (1199–1214) was defeated by king Alfonso VIII of Castile thanks to an alliance of the four Christian princes of Castile, Aragón, Kingdom of Navarre, and Portugal at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in the Sierra Morena. This battle was known in the Arab history as the Battle of Al-Uqab.

The government of the Emir Yusuf, entitled Almostansir, who succeeded his father al-Nasir who died in Morocco in late 1213 or early 1214 marks the period of alarming decline in the Almohad Empire. The Arab authors confirm that the new emir, a young man with no experience and preoccupied with the pleasures of life, delegated matters to his ministers, and the governors worked in their districts as independent lords.

2.1.9. Ibn Hud (1228-1238)

After the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 it became more and more evident that the military weakness of the Almohads and their dynastic struggle within the ruling family were the reason why they were no longer able to protect the country, and when discontent rose among the people, Ibn Hud became the leader of the rebellion. By 1228 he had become the ruler of practically the whole of al-Andalus.

He probably used the mukûs tax, because we observed that King Ferdinand III granted Mula the Fuero of Cordoba in 1245, which implied that it was a place of realengo, i.e. having a council, a seal, and a sign of its own. The king also granted the exemption in the payment of portazgo (mukûs) and toll on its products in the whole kingdom, except Murcia and Toledo[89].

It is a fact that the mukûs tax was known as toll in those years, because the Crónica General also tells us that "while King Don Fernando was in Toledo, Alfonso, his landlord of Murcia, arrived and was received with great enthusiasm". The anonymous author of the Apuntamiento deduces that it could have been in the month of August when Infant Don Alfonso took a trip to Toledo to meet with his father, which is not a misleading calculation, since we know an Alfonsí document dated in Toledo on July 23 (1243). From this date is the concession to Alcaraz of exemption in the payment of portazgo (mukûs) in Chinchilla[90].

2.1.10. King Alfonso X (1245-1274)

After the death of Ibn Hud the situation in Murcia became untenable and its leaders decided to have talks with the Christian king Ferdinand

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[89] **VARIOS** (2008) *Diagnóstico Ambiental Municipal Mula*. Ayuntamiento de Mula, pp. 23-26
GUTIÉRREZ GARCÍA, Juan (2016) *Mula en la Baja Edad Media*. In: El legado de Mula en la Historia. Mula, pp. 154-181. Citation on p. 158
[90] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1989) *Incorporación del Reino de Murcia a la corona de Castilla*. In: Yakka. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, Nº. 5, pp. 15-24. Citaton on pp. 19 and 23

III. Due to the political pressures this king obtained the signing of the treaty of Alcaraz in 1243 thanks to which the Murcian king Muhammad Ibn Hud (Aben Hudiel) capitulated putting the sovereignty of the kingdom into Christian hands.

After the Muslim revolt in Andalusis in 1264 King Alfonso X with the help of his father-in-law could retake Lorca and Murcia and since then the region of Murcia became governed by Christians. Many Muslims died during the battle and others went to the Kingdom of Granada. We do not know whether Puerto de la Losilla collected the mukûs tax between 1245 and 1266, but the documents show that a tax was used there.

> **1268-IV-4, Jerez.- Anfonso X el Sabio al concejo de Orihuela. Prohibiendo que tomaran rotova a los vecinos de Orihuela en Alicante, Elche y cualquier otro lugar. (A. Mun. Orihuela, Libro de privilegios, fols. 1v. 2r.) (Puerto de La Losilla).**
>
> Don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios, rey de Castella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallicia, de Seuilla et de Cordoua et de Murcia, de Jahen et del Algarue. A todos quantos esta mi carta uieren, salut et gracia. Sepades que el concejo de Orihuela se me embiaron querellar que les toman arrotouas de Alicante a Orihuela, et esto non tengo yo por bien, que pues la terra es de christianos que den arrotouas. Onde vos mando que daqui adelante que los non tomen arrotouas en Alicante nin en Elche nin en otro logar nenguno. E si facer non lo quisieren, mando al merino que es en la tierra por don Alfonso Garcia que non consienta que ge las tomen, et non fagan ende al si non a lo que ouisen me tornaria por ello.
>
> Dada en Xereç, el rey la mando miercoles quatro dias de abril era de mil et CCC et seys anyos. Yo Pero Gonçaleç la fiç escriuir.
>
> TORRES FONTES, JUAN (1973). Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia, Codom III, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia. pp. 97-98.

The influence that the Arabs exercised in the organization of the Treasury was so important in these times, according to E. Levy-Provençal, that the Christians literally copied the names of the taxes

and charges that the formers had established[91]. We do not see this in the term of mukûs.

After the departure of many Muslims king Alfonso X needed to repopulate the region of Murcia with Christians and other Muslims. He gave a lot of facilities to the newcomers and abandoned the prevailing rotoua tax. Here is part of the document related to this tax. The full document can be found in the attachments.

> **1267**
> **Privilegio de Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Confirmando los privilegios anteriores y otorgándoles otros nuevos. Jaén, 18 de mayo de 1267. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Libro de privilegios, fols. 11r. - 14r.) (Puerto de La Losilla).**
> (......) Otrosy, por fazer bien e merced a los vezinos moradores de la çibdat e de su termino e tan bien a todos los del regno de Murcia, otorgamos e mandamos que no den en **rotoua en ningun logar sy no en aquellos logares o se solian dar en tiempo de Miralmemim** [Miramamolín] e que no den mas de quanto era acostumbrado de dar en aquel tiempo, e otrosy, queremos e mandamos que aquellos logares o la rocoua se diere, que se guarden de como entonçe se guardaua.

2.1.11. Sancho IV (1281-1295)

The first time that the name of the village of Negra (Blanca) appears in history is in a document of Infant Don Sancho, the future king Sancho IV. In those years Puerto de la Losilla was called Ruelda de la Losiela and we interestingly observe in the document that it had alcarias. This is the Spanish translation of the Arabic *al-qarya* (Plur. qurà) which means hamlets. Today there're no hamlets there, thus only archaeological investigations can provide clarification.

[91] **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Évariste** (1932) *Histoire de l'Espagne au Xème Siécle.* Institutions et vie sociale (Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose), p. 98

1281-III-25, Agreda. -Promesa del infante don Sancho de entregar a la Orden de Santiago cuando fuera rey el valle de Ricote con todos sus lugares y Calasparra, Librilla y Alhama. (AHN. Sec. Ordenes Militares, Uclés, 293, nº 1).

Sepan quantos esta carta vieren como yo ynfante don Sancho, fijo mayor et heredero del muy noble don Alfonso, por la graçia de Dios rey de Castella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Galiçia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe, por los seruiçios que uos don Pero Nunnez, maestre de la orden de la Caualleria de Santiago et los freyres dessa misma Orden fiziestes a los reyes onde you vengo et a mi, porque he muy grand voluntad de çreçer uostra Orden porque mays cunplidamientre podades seruir a Dios et al rey et a mi uos et los que vinieren despues de uos, prometo et otorgo que solo que me Dios traya a tienpo que yo reygne que uos val de Ricote con Negra et con Fauaran et con Oxoxe et con **la Ruelda de la Losiela con todas sus alcarias**, et Calasparra et Liurela et molinos, como tiendas, (como) atahonas, como justiçia et con entradas et con salidas et con montes et con fuentes et con ryos et (con) pastos et con montadgos et conn portadgos et con todos los derechos que estos logares sobre d(dichos) an et deven auer bien et cunplidamientre. Et todo esto uos do que lo ayades por juro et por h(eredat) pora la Orden por sienpre yamas, pora vender et pora empenar et pora dar et pora camiar et pora fazer dello et en ello lo que quisieredes como de lo uostro mismo. Et uos que me coiades yrado et pagado cada que yo quissiere a mi et a los que yo mandare en estos castells sobredichos et que me fagades dellos querra et paz uos et los que fueren despues de uos en esta Orden et quallesquier otros que los ouiessen a mi et a los que de mi vinieren. Et porque esto sea firme et non venga en dubda di uos esta mi carta seelada con mi seelo de çera et quando yo regnare prometouos de uos dar ende mi priuilegio con mi seelo de plumo.

Facta la carta en Agreda veynte et çinco dias de març̧o, era de mill et trezientos et diez et nueue annos. Yo Roy Diaz la fiz escriuir por mandado del ynfante[92].

Four years later, in 1285, we see Sancho IV as king. He issued a document to the Order of Santiago, which states the tax of portazgo and Puerto de la Losilla (see appendix 19.1.)

Apparently in the time of Sancho IV the Order of Santiago through Puerto de la Losilla collected the tax of rotoba (portazgo) which was a

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[92] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1973). Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia, Codom III, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia.

tax to guarantee safety on the roads. According to two documents from 1304 and 1305 this tax was used in Medinatea, Mula, Librilla, Alhama, Totana, and Puerto de la Mala Mujer. However, this tax was forbidden by king Alfonso X and the customs ports could no longer collect it[93].



Puerto de la Mala Mujer
Photo: Antonio Hoyos

2.1.12. Ferdinand IV (1295-1312)

To avoid collecting the rotova tax by the guards of Puerto de la Losilla King Ferdinand IV of Castile forbade the tax in 1305. He wrote a letter to Johan Osorez[94], master of the order of Santiago, and another letter to Diego García[95], leading the region of Murcia.

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[93] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Puerto de la Losilla, Portazgo, torre y arancel.* Miscelánea Medieval Murciana. Dpto. de Historial Medieval, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia. pp. 64-65

[94] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1980) *Documentos de Fernando IX.* Edición de Juan Torres Fontes, Murcia. p. 52

[95] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1980) *Documentos de Fernando IV.* Codom V. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia. pag. 66-67. (A.M.M., perg. 82)

1305-V-18, Medina del Campo.- Al adelantado don Juan Osores, maestre de Santiago. Sobre la indebida imposición de rotova que hacían algunos comendadores santiaguistas. (A.M.C., perg. 78). (Puerto de La Losilla).

Don Ferrando, por la graçia de Dios rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe et sennor de Molina, a uos, don Johan Osorez, por essa mesma graçia maestre de la orden de la caualleria de Santiago et adelantado por mi del regno de Murçia o a qualquier que tenga y uestro logar et a qualquier que daqui adelante y fuere adelantado por mi, salut commo a aquellos que amo et de que mucho fio. Sepades que el conçeio de la noble çibdat de Murçia me enbiaron mostrar de commo ellos an franqueza por carta del rey don Alffonsso mi auuelo que parayso aya que les yo confirme, que ningunos non tomen rotoua en ningun logar del regno de Murçia saluo ende en el puerto de Mala Muger. Et que agora algunos de los castelleros et otros omes del regno non queriendo les guardar la dicha franqueza que toman rotoua en La Losiella et en Medinatea et en Mula et en Libriella et en Alhama et en Totana et avn que el puerto de Mala Mueger les toman mas que quanto diz la carta que ende tienen del dicho rey don Alffonsso et de quanto fue vsado e acostunbrado en el tienpo del rey don Alffonsso et del rey don Sancho asi a los christianos commo a moros et a judios et a uezinos et a estrannos, et que es cosa que torna a gran mio deseruiçio et a mangua de las mis rentas et a danno et despoblamiento de la tierra. Esto non tengo yo por bien, porque uos mando vista esta mi carta que non conssintades a ninguno que tome rotoua daqui adelante sinon en aquellos logares do el rey don Alffonsso la mando tomar et tanto commo el manda et non mas, segun dizzen las cartas que les dio en esta razon et les yo confirme: et qualquier o qualesquier que en otros logares la tomaren et de mas de quanto es ordenado, prendatlos por mill morauedis de la moneda nueua a cada vno et guardatlos para fazer dellos lo que yo mandare. Et non fagades ende al por ninguna manera; et desto les mande dar esta mi carta sellada con mi seello de çera colgado.

Dada en Medina del Campo, dieziocho dias de mayo, era de mill et trezientos et quareynta et tres annos. Yo Pero Ferrandez la fiz escriuir por mandado del rey. Vista, Relator.

Apparently the Commander of Puerto de la Losilla did not pay much attention to the king's plea not to charge the rotava tax, so the king was forced to repeat his demand two years later. This time a letter was addressed to Juan Manuel, leading the kingdom of Murcia[96].

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[96] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1980) *Documentos de Fernando IX.* Edición de Juan Torres Fontes, Murcia. p. 83

1307-II-12, Valladolid.-A don Juan Manuel, adelantado del reino de Murcia. Orden de que juzgara la queja del concejo de Murcia contra el comendador de Ricote. (A.M.M., *Libro de privilegios,* fol. 95).

Don Ferrando, por la gracia de Dios rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murcia, de Jahen, del Algarbe et sennor de Molina, a vos don Johan, mio cormano fijo del infante don Manuel, salut commo aquel que quiero bien et en que fio. Sepades que el concejo de Murcia se me enbiaron querellar et dizen que el comendador de Ricote que les toma rotoua en la Losilla, non auiendola porque tomar, et esto que es contra los preuillegios que ellos han de los reyes onde yo vengo et que les yo confirme, et enbiaronme pedir merçed que mandase y lo que touiese por bien. Porque vos mando, vista esta mi carta que sepades la verdat et la rayz deste fecho o la mandades saber, et que lo libredes o la fagades librar en manera que cada vna de las partes ayan su derecho et non fagades ende al, la carta leyda datgela.

Dada en Valladolid XII dias de febrero era de mill CCCXLVI annos. Yo Alfonso Peres de Burgos la fiz escriuir por mandado del rey. Gil Gonçalez. Vista, Aluar Ruyz.

The subject of the rotava tax continued being delicate, because the leader of Ricote did not fulfill his obligations of not receiving *rotava* in Puerto de la Losilla. Consequently King Ferdinand IV was forced to once again call the attention to Don Juan Manuel, leader of the Murcian region with the instructions not to receive *rotava* in Puerto de la Losilla[97].

1312-V-10, Sitio de Alba de Tormes.- A don Juan Manuel, adelantado del reino de Murcia. Sobre los impuestos que cobraba el comendador de Ricote y prendas de ganada hechas a vecinos de Murcia. (A.M.M., Libro 1, fols. 101-102).

Don Ferrando, por la graçia de Dios rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe et sennor de Molina, a vos don Johan, mi cormano, fijo del infante don Manuel, et mio mayordome mayor o a qualquier que fuere adelantado del reyno de murcia daqui adelante o al que estudiere en su logar, salut commo a cormano que mucho amo et en que mucho fio et para quienn querria mucha onrra et buena ventura. Sepades que el concejo de la noble çibdat de Murçia se me enbiaron

[97] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1980) *Documentos de Fernando IX.* Edición de Juan Torres Fontes, Murcia. pp. 112-113

querellar et dizen que han cartas del rey don Alfonso, mio auuelo, confirmadas del rey don Sanchho, mio padre, et de mi, en que manda que en ningun logar del reyno de Murcia non tomen rotoua saluo en el puerto de la Mala Muger, et que los comendadores que touieron la encomienda de Ricote, que es de la orden de Santiago, que han tomado algunas vezes rotoua en la Losilla forçadamente et algunas vezes dexada de tomar, et esto que es contra las dichas cartas que tienen de los reyes onde yo vengo, et de mi et que me pedian merçed que lo mandase vedar; et yo touelo por bien, porque vos ruego et vos mando que defendades que en la Losilla nin en otro logar ninguno del reyno de Murcia non tomen rotoua ninguna sinon asi commo manda en las cartas que el dicho conçejo tiene en esta razon commo sobredicho es, et que non consintades a ninguno que les passe contra ellas nin ge las mengue en ninguna cosa. Otrosi, se me enbiaron querellar et dizen que algunos comendadores et castelleros sin razon et sin derecho prendan algunas vezes los sus ganados et a algunos de los vezinos de Murçia porque pacen en sus terminos o passan por ellos et que non pueden dellos cobrar las prendas, et que sobre esto ellos con voluntad del que tiene el adelantamiento por vos, don Johan, fizieron ordenamiento que a qualquier que desta guisa les prendase quel enbiasen pedir la prenda vna vez, et sinon la tornase o non diese razon derecho porque lo fazie, quel prendasen por ello hasta que fueren entregados de lo que les ternie prendado, et que me pedien merçed que este ordenamiento que ge lo confirmase, et you touelo por bien, porque vos ruego et vos mando que lo mandedes asi guardar et conplir que los anparades con la prenda que sobresta razon fizieren, la carta leyda datgela.

Dada en la çerca sobre Alua de Tormes, X dias de mayo, era de mill CCC et cinquenta annos. Yo Manuel Perez la fiz escriuir por mandado del rey. Royz. Garçia Ferrandez. Martin Alfonso.

2.1.13. Alfonso XI (1312-1350)

Apparently the two leaders of the Ricote Valley, Pedro González (1318?-1329?) and Martín Furtado (1330-1345)[98], did not cause problems with their taxes collected in Puerto de la Losilla thanks to the control of Murcia’s leader Juan Manuel. However, the new Commander Gómez González de Caldelas (1346-1353?) caused problems again, probably due to Juan Manuel’s age. This time it was

[98] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2008) *Los Comendadores del Valle de Ricote.* Siglos XIII – XIV. Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca (Valle de Ricote). Blanca, pp. 19 and 25

king Alfonso XI who had to intervene to confirm the privileges of his great-grandfather reiterating that no one was daring to take *rotovas* anywhere in the kingdom of Murcia. The Murcian council had protested and requested the king's decision with a face to the grievances and disagreements of the Santiago Commenders with their extortions to merchants and Christian walkers. In spite of it the Commenders, especially the one of Ricote, he would continue with his exigencies and protests of the council of Murcia[99].

2.1.14. Pedro I (1350 – 1369)

The Order of Santiago had special privileges and so D. Fadrique, Master of the Order, could continue with the collection of portazgo in Puerto de la Losilla as we can see from the documents. There is a document from 12 November 1351 and another one dated 22 November 1351 which confirms a document of King Alfonso XI from 1336 and another from 1285, which mentions the portazgo and Puerto de la Losilla (see appendix 19.2.)

> **1351, noviembre, 12. Valladolid.**
> Don Pedro por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Castiella, &c. Por facer bien e merced a D. Fadrique Maestre de la orden de la Caballería de Santiago e a la dicha su Orden, otorgoles e confirmoles todos fueros, Previlegios, cartas libertades, franquezas, gracias, e donaciones, sentencias e buenos usos, e costumbres que han e que ovieron, e que usaron siempre en tiempo de los Reyes onde yo vengo fasta aquí, e mando que les vala, &c salvo en lo que fuere contra las Leyes que el Rey D. Alfonso mio Padre fizo en las Cortes de Alcalá de Henares, nin otrosi contra las Leyes que yo agora fize en estas Cortes de Valladolid, &c. Dada en las Cortes de Valladolid doce dias de Noviembre, Era de Mill CCC. E Ochenta e nueve años. *Concordat cum originali exceptis omissis*[100].

[99] A.M.M., 24-VII-1347, p. 106. Cited by **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Puerto de la Losilla, Portazgo, torre y arancel*. Miscelánea Medieval Murciana. Dpto. de Historial Medieval, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia. IX, pp. 57-85. Citation on p. 66

[100] **LÓPEZ ARGULETA, Joseph** (1719). Bullarium equestris Ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha: per annorum seriem nonnullis donationum, & aliis interiectis scripturis... / opus D. Antonii Francisci Aguado de Cordova; D. Alfonsi Antonii Aleman et Rosales... diligentia; et Domni Iosephi Lopez Agurleta... studio ac labore completum;

1351, noviembre, 22. Valladolid.
Privilegio roadado de Pedro I, por el que se confirma otro de Alfonso XI, de 1336, mayo, 8, en el que a su vez se confirma uno de Sancho IV – 1285, noviembre, 19.
Concediendo a la Orden de Santiago los pechos y tributos de los moros habitantes en los lugares de la Orden.
"Fecho el priuillegio en las cortes de Valladolit veynte e dos dias de nouiembre era de mill e trezientos e ochenta e nueue annos. Ferrando Martinez de Agreda teniente logar de notario de los priuillegios rodados por Iohan Martinez de la camara del rey lo mando fazer por mandado del rey en el anno segundo que el sobredicho rey don Pedro reyno".
Priv. Rodado. Perg. Orig. 667/624. Castellano. Minúscula diplomática. Signo roadao, chrismon y mayúsulas en rojo y ocre; hilos de seda en rojo, amarillo y blanco para el sello[101].

In 1354 the Castilian king confirmed Murcia the privilege with all its exemptions, especially from the *portazgo* and other rights of the passage of goods. Thus merchants would flow to Murcia and not to other territories. King Alfonso XI had revoked this type of tax due to some monetary needs[102].

2.1.15. Henry II (1369 – 1379)

In 1369 Don Enrique I confirmed the privilege of the fair in Murcia, ordering the fulfillment of the alfonsino [King Alfonso X] privilege of the *portazgo* in 1370. However, this exemption privilege was not fully respected in Puerto de la Losilla by the Commander of the Valley of

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cui accesit Catalogus Summorum Pontificum, ac bullarum seu indultorum... necnon... locupletissimus index, p. 320.

[101] Arch. Uclés, caj. 5, vol. 1, núm. 45 Cited by:
GUTIÉRREZ DEL ARROYO DE VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, Consuelo (1950). Privilegios reales de la Orden de Santiago. Junta técnica de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, p. 313.

[102] **GÓNZALES ARCE, José Damián** (1999). Producción artesanal y fiscalidad comercial. Murcia ss. XIV-XV. In: Murgetana, Nº. 99, págs. 93-107. Cita en págs. 95-96.

Ricote[103] in future centuries, hence we suppose that the same happened from time to time in Puerto de la Losilla in the 14th century.

2.1.16. John I of Castile (1379-1390)

The fact that Blanca in those years still had a connection with Puerto de la Losilla and not Ulea is a document of 1383. This document states that those who followed the trail of the evildoers and direct themselves to Puerto de la Losilla had to advise those of the hamlet of Blanca to help them in the persecution. (see Appendix 19.3.)

Alfonso de Valdivieso, in his capacity as leader of the Region of Murcia by the Count of Carrión, asked Fernán Oller, the solicitor of the city of Murcia, and the jurors of the same village to make inquiries about capturing those who killed a shepherd among the territories of Jumilla and Ricote. The document in question is in the mentioned appendix.

2.1.17. John II of Castile (1406-1454)

As we can learn from Cascales, the Commander of Ricote displeased Murcia with his Moors of the valley. In 1414 Lope Alvarez Osorio, Commander of Ricote and previously of Socobos, gave this city grief with his Moors of the Ricote Valley about the retova tax in Puerto de la Losilla that belonged to his territory. The same could be said of the neighbours of Hellin, Chinchilla, and Alcaráz, and from the king's other lands who also suffered grief on account of their merchandise, provisions, and maintenance that they carried and brought[104].

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[103] **GÓNZALES ARCE, José Damián** (1999). Cita en págs. 95-96.

[104] **CASCALES, Francisco** (1980) *Discursos históricos de Murcia y su Reino.* Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia. Reedición de la obra de 1775. pp. 253-254

2.1.17.1. Confiscation of pack animals from Ricote

In December 1421 complains between Murcia and Ricote became public[105]. Sancho Fernández de Galvarroso seized mules of Ricote and presented a royal letter to the council of Murcia, in which the monarch ordered that "the commander of Ricote should have a Christian and not a Moorish guard in the tower of the Losilla".

2.1.18. Isabella I of Castile (1474-1504)

2.1.18.1. Safe conduct to the inhabitants of Ricote

In 1477 the council of Murcia granted safe conduct to the inhabitants of Ricote and the guard of the tower of Losilla who moved to Granada. They were guaranteed that they could come back to the Ricote Valley and live as before, and confidently resume their desired relationships and trade in Murcia[106].

2.1.18.2. Fabrics hijacked

Around 1480 in the late Middle Ages all sorts of products arrived at the port of Cartagena from Flanders and Italy and were registered at the customs office of Puerto de la Losilla. Then in Puerto de la Losilla, in the possession of the Commander of the Valle de Ricote, traders paid the portazgo tariff and the products were distributed within Castile[107].

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[105] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982). Puerto de la losilla, Portazgo, torre y arancel. Miscelánea Medieval Murciana. Dpto. de Historial Medieval, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia. p. 69
SÁNCHEZ LA ORDEN-SÁNCHEZ, Berta (1973). Murcia 1420-1430. Precios y salarios. Tesina, Universidad de Murcia. pp. 87-88

[106] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1992). Los mudéjares murciano: economia y sociedad. Actas IV Simposio Internacional de mudéjarismo: Economia. (Teruel, 17-19 de septiembre de 1987). Instituto de Estudios Turolenses de la Excma. Diputación Provincial. Adscrito al Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. p. 376.
[107] A.M.M., caja 12, núm. 57 (peticiones de Murcia para las Cortes de 1506) **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Puerto de La Losilla, portazgo, torre y arancel*

2.1.18.3. Mayor of Ricote

In March 1486 the council sent a letter to the mayor of Ricote about some fabrics hijacked to Abeniatar, Murcia's neighbour in the port of Losilla[108].

2.1.18.4. Rents of the Encomienda de Ricote

We know the rents of the *Encomienda de Ricote* thanks to the visits of the Order of Santiago[109]:

1494 RENTS OF THE ENCOMIENDA DE RICOTE

Tithe of wheat and income of the mills	383 fanegas y 3 celemines
Tithe of barley	143 fanegas y 3 celemines
Tithe de panic grass y *alcandía* and income of the panic grass mills	382 fanegas
Tithe of livestock, 212 animals	14.840 maravedíes
Tithe of cheese, 12 *arrobas*	1.800 maravedíes
Tithe of flax, 12 *arrobas*	2.400 maravedíes
Tithe of vegetables and fruits	1.240 maravedíes
Tithe of raisins, 40 *quintales*	9.920 maravedíes
Flax seeds	620 maravedíes
Oil rights, tithe of the oil and oil press, 264 *arrobas*, of which 130 correspond to 1494	13.000 maravedíes
Tahúlllas rights	14.000 maravedíes

In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana IX, pp. 57-85. Citation on p. 61. Cited by **MONTOJO MONTOJO, Vicente** (1986) *Cartagena en la transición de la Edad Media a la Moderna* (1474 – 1516) Historia de Cartagena, Tomo IV. Murcia: Mediterráneo, págs. 189-286. Cita en pág. 230, 241, 246, 256 and 257

[108] **RUBIO GARCÍA, Luis** (1992). Los Judíos de Murcia en la Baja Edad Media (1350-1500). Murcia. p. 59

[109] Visita de la Orden de Santiago, pp. 308-309, 1494 Ricote. Cited by **RODRIGUEZ LLOPIS, Miguel** (1986). Señoríos y feudalismo en el Reino de Murcia. 1440-1515. Universidad de Murcia. p. 299

MARTINEZ CARRILLO, María de los Llanos (1982). La ganadería lanar y las ordenanzas de ganaderos murcianos de 1383, en M.M.M., IX, Universidad de Murcia, pp. 119-152.

Veinteno	5.000 maravedíes
Rights of Abarán by concord	4.500 maravedíes
Income of the puerto de La Losilla	50.000 maravedíes
Tithe of wool	992 maravedíes
Dulas, straw and chicken rights	14.400 maravedíes

1 cahiz = 8 fanegas o 96 celemines
1 cahiz = 6 marevadis

In 1497 we observe the abuse of the mayor of Ricote in Puerto de la Losilla, because a new conflictive stage occurred between the council of Murcia and Bernardo Turpin, mayor of Ricote before the end of the century. His neighbour Francisco Escarramad returned to Murcia taking with him two black slaves who he had bought for the service of his house, when in Puerto de la Losilla the porter Moradillo took from him a donkey in pledge of the two doubles that he estimated that Escarramad had to pay the *portazgo* tax. Not long afterwards, when Bernardo Turpin found himself in Murcia by order of the aldermen, the council clerk showed him the royal privileges enjoyed by the neighbours of Murcia in all the Castilian kingdoms. A requirement not accepted by the mayor of Ricote, stating that the privileges were devoid of value in the territory of the Military Orders and only valid in realengo. And Bernardo Turpin, mayor of Ricote by the commander Garcilasa de la Vega, maintained this attitude in the following years, since the complaints against his activity are repeated, as manifested in a new memorial of grievances of the Murcian council in September 1497[110].

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[110] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Puerto de la Losilla, Portazgo, Torre y Arancel*. Miscelánea Medieval Murciana. Dpto. de Historial Medieval, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia. pp.69-70

Puerto de la Losilla became more and more important on the road to Castile, because documents suddenly state that it had a porterhouse (mesón). The visitors of the Order of Santiago made their inspections in the Ricote Valley concerning Ricote and some other villages, but the inspections of the years 1468, 1481, and 1495 do not mention any word about Puerto de la Losilla. During the inspection of 1498 between 25 and 28 November a porterhouse of Puerto de la Losilla is documented. In the testimony of this visit we observe that visitors to the Order of Santiago instructed to build a chamber above the door and had given instructions to do this during a previous visit. However, nothing is indicated from previous visits, thus this was an informal observation. Part of the document of 1498 is as follows:

> E despues de lo suso dicho este dicho dia, los dichos visytadores fueron a visytar el meson del Puerto la Losylla, ques de la encomienda de Ricote, en el qual los visytadores pasados avian mandado fazer vna camara en somo de la puerta de la calle, la qual no estaua fecha; mandaronlo apreçiar al dicho mastre Diego, so cargo del juramento que fecho tenía, el qual declaro que para fazer la dicha camara como era mandado que eran mester quatro mill maravedis.

Year	**Commander**
1400-1409	Gómez Suarez de Figueroa
1414-1426	Lope Alvarez Osorio
1421	Martin Alfonso de Valdivieso
1440-1453	Juan Fajardo
1440	Garcia de Heredia
1461-1475	Pedro Vélez de Guevara
1476-1477	Luis Manrique
1480-1488	Rodrigo de Ulloa
1492	Luis Celdrán Tallante
1494-1502	Garci Laso de la Vega
1503	Hernando de Toledo
	Rodrigo Dávalos
1503-1512	Miguel Pérez de Almazán
1513-1525	Enrique Enriquez de Sandoval y Rojas
1544-1568	Francisco Enríquez de Quiñones
1570	Luis de Toledo
1555-1581	Francisco Enríquez de Rojas

1581-1627	Pedro de Toledo y Osorio
1629	Fadrique de Toledo Osorio
1646-1705	Fadrique de Toledo y Ponce de León (Duque de Fernandina, marqués de Villafranca)

Asy que sumados los dichos apreçios de los reparos de la dicha fortaleza de Ricote e del dicho meson de la Losylla, monto todo honze mill e ochoçientos maravedis e queriendolo executar los dichos visytadores deposytaron en poder de Fadal Candel, moro vezino de Blanca, arrendador del encomienda de Ricote, los dichos honze mill e ochoçientos maravedis, al qual mandaron que faga las dichas obras de la dicha fortaleza e del dicho Puerto de Losylla, desde Navidad primera que viene deste presente anno en vn anno primero conplido, lo qual declaro el dicho mastre Diego que avian menester para fazer las dichas obras; el qual dicho Fadal Candel se tobo por contento dellos e se obligo de fazer las dichas obras en el dicho tiempo, para lo qual obligo su persona e bienes e dio poder a las justiçias e renunçio las leyes del derecho e otorgo carta firme e capaz. Testigos, el bachiller Rodrigo del Castillo e mastre Diego, vezino de Çieça[111].

2.1.19. Joanna of Castile (1504-1507)

2.1.19.1. Three other taxes

In 1507 we observed three other tax terms in Puerto de la Losilla for the first time[112]. We learn from Branchát that *borra, asadura,* and *pontage* are rights of way (derecho de paso)[113]. The councils, on the other hand, perceived the *borra* on the cattle that pastured on their

[111] A.H.N., OO.MM, Mss Santiago, Lib. 1069 C, folios. 211r – 219v. Cited by **EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A**. (2006). Las visitas de la Orden de Santiago a los territorios de la Región de Murcia en el siglo XV. Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, pp. 348-355. Citation on p. 354.

[112] **PORRAS ARBOLEDAS, Pedro Andrés** (1982). Los señoríos de la Orden de Santiago en su provincia de Castilla (siglo XV). Dos tomos. Departamento de Historia Medieval. Sección de Historia. Facultad de Geografía e Historia. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. p. 406.

- 1. AHN, OO.MM., Lib. 1072c, fol. . 358.

[113] **BRANCHÁT, Vicente** (1786) *Tratado de los derechos y regalías que corresponden al Real Patrimonio en el Reyno de Valencia (....).* Volumen III, p. IV

territories[114] (234). The best information comes from Pérez Picazo and Leumier[115] who indicate that "*borra* and *cabrita*", *asadura, caballería, servicio, montazgo, portazgo, registro,* and *herbaje* are all rights of way with access to pasture.

2.1.20. Ferdinand of Castile (1507-1516)

2.1.20.1. Rents of the Puerto de la Losilla in 1511

At the time of the Commander of Ricote Miguel Pérez de Almazán (1503-1512) the portazgo of Puerto de la Losilla was rented for 66,000 maravedis[116].

2.1.20.2. Rents of the Puerto de la Losilla in 1515

We observe that at the time of the Commander of Ricote Miguel Pérez de Almazán (1503-1512) the portazgo of Puerto de la Losilla was rented for 65,000 or 70,000 maravedis[117].

2.1.21. Carlos I of Castile (1516-1556)

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114 **RODRÍGUEZ LLOPIS, Miguel** (1986) *Señoríos y feudalismo en el Reino de Murcia*. Los dominios de la Orden de Santiago entre 1440 y 1515. Universidad de Murcia, p. 234

115 **PÉREZ PICAZO, María Teresa & LEMEUNIER, Guy** (1984) *El proceso de modernización de la región murciana (siglos XVI-XIX)*. Consejería de Cultura y Educación. Murcia, p. 45

116 A.H.N., OO. MM., sign. 1080 C, f. 324v. (Visit to Ricote in 1515). Cited by **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes*. El caso de Ricote (Murcia, España). Tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, p. 387

117 A.H.N., OO. MM., sign. 1077 C, f. 243r. (Visit to Ricote in 1511). Cited by **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes*. El caso de Ricote (Murcia, España). Tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, p. 357

2.1.21.1. Rents of the Puerto de la Losilla in 1526

The whole district of command of Ricote was rented for 620,000 maravedis. At the time of the Commander of Ricote Enrique Enriquez de Sandoval y Rojas (1513-1526) the porterhouse (venta) of Puerto de la Losilla was rented for 80,000 maravedis[118].

2.1.21.2. Rents of the Puerto de la Losilla in 1549

We observe that at the time of the Commander of Ricote Francisco Enríquez de Quiñones (1544-1568) Puerto de la Losilla had a porterhouse (venta) that was rented for ninety-six thousand maravedis[119].

2.2. Anubda, rotoua and robda

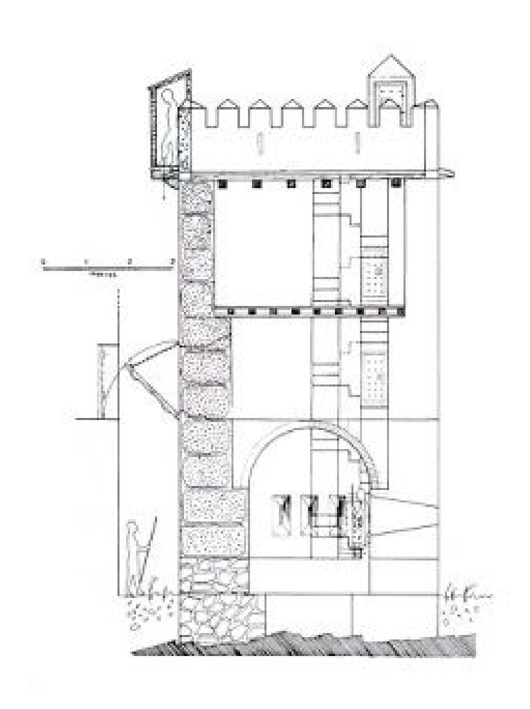
The term *Ruebda* is similar to the terms *anubda* and *robda.* In this sense María Estela González de Fauve[120] let us know that in the 13th century the term *anubda* was replaced by *robda* and *arrobda,* words derived from a similar Arab institution of ribat.

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[118] A.H.N., OO.MM., sign. 1080C, ff. 428r-432r. (visit to Ricote) and A.H.N., OO.MM., sign. 1080C, f. 434r. (Visit to the Puerto de la Losilla in 1526). Cited by **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes. El caso de Ricote (Murcia, España).* Tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, pp. 420 and 431

[119] A.H.N., OO.MM., sign. 1085 C, f. 17r. (visit to Ricote in 1549) Cited by **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes*. El caso de Ricote (Murcia, España). Tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, p. 441

[120] **GONZÁLEZ DE FAUVE, María Estela** (1958) *La anubda y la arrobda en Castilla.* In: Cuadernos de Historia de España (CHE), Buenos Aires, vols. XXXVII-XXXVIII. *Apud.* **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) In: Misceánea Medieval Murciana IX, pp. 57-85. Citation on p. 61



The tower of Puerto de la Losilla in 1507, according to Pedro Lillo[121]

This is in accordance with Hans Weber[122] who confirms that the Spanish term *ronda* (inspection round) emerged from the Arabic expression *rubt* (Plural of *rábita,* Rider patrol) > Spanish *arrobda* > *robda* > *ronda*.

We know this thanks to the study made by Jaime Oliver Asín[123] about the Arab origin of the terms *rebato, arrobda,* and its homonyms. He

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[121] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2008) *El Valle de Ricote a través de sus fortalezas*. Madrid, pp. 75 y 76

[122] **WEBER, Hans** (2000) *Words of Double Lineage.* In: Babylonia. Trimestrale plurilingue edito dalla Fondazione Lingue e Culture. Nº 1, Anno X, pp. 64-65

[123] **OLIVER ASÍN, Jaime** (1928) *Origen árabe de rebato, arrobda y sus homónimos. Contribución al estudio de la historia medieval de la táctica militar y de su léxico peninsular.* Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Madrid

considered that *robda* is a variant of the etymological form *rodva* [or rutba] that was a tax paid for the cattle. On the other hand *arrobda* was the rural guard who collected taxes. All these voices in the sense of customs come from the Arabic *rotba.* With regards to the term *rebato* he demonstrates conclusively that the etymon is Arabic *ribat.* In short, *rebato* and its derivatives *rebata, rebate, arrebato, arrebata, arrebate* (the initial ar is merely the Arabic definite article) are words that belong exclusively to the language of the Iberian Peninsula. The same author studied the homonymous word *arrobda* (and its possible variant *robda*) with another meaning, referring to a group of riders who kept a lookout outside the castle or the legion to warn the army of the imminence of danger. This was similar to the linguistic trace of the celebrated Muslim institution of the *ribat* or sacred Muslim duty to watch over and defend borders.

Consequently in the 13th century appeared diverse expressions such as *arrotova, arrobda, rotoua, rotova* or *rotoba, ruebda, rolda, rocova.* All of them have the same significance and indicate a Muslim origin or antecedent[124]. The *anubda* and the *arrobda* were defensive forms of military service.

King Alfonso X grants royal privilege to the town of Jumilla to facilitate its repopulation. There is no document that lists these privileges, but they would be similar to those of Cieza; free from taxes among them the portazgo, as was the case in Puerto de la Losilla.

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[124] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1982) *Puerto de La Losilla, portazgo, torre y arancel* In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana IX, pp. 57-85. Citation on p. 61



Puerto de la Losilla (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

By the beginning of the third century *annona militaris*, a new system for supplying the Roman army had developed. The term *annona* is frequently used in ancient sources to refer both to military supply and grain for Rome, so confusion between the *annona civica* and *annona militaris* is not surprising[125].

2.3. Camino Real

At that time there was a road by the name of Camino Real in the territory of Negra (Blanca), which was next to the Ermita San Roque.

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[125] **SEGRÈ, Angelo** (1942-1943). Essays on Byzantine economic history, I The "Annona Civica" and the "Annona Militaris". In: Byzantion, Vol. 16, Nº. 2, pp. 393-444.



The Hermitage in Baina
(Photo: © José María Molina Galera)

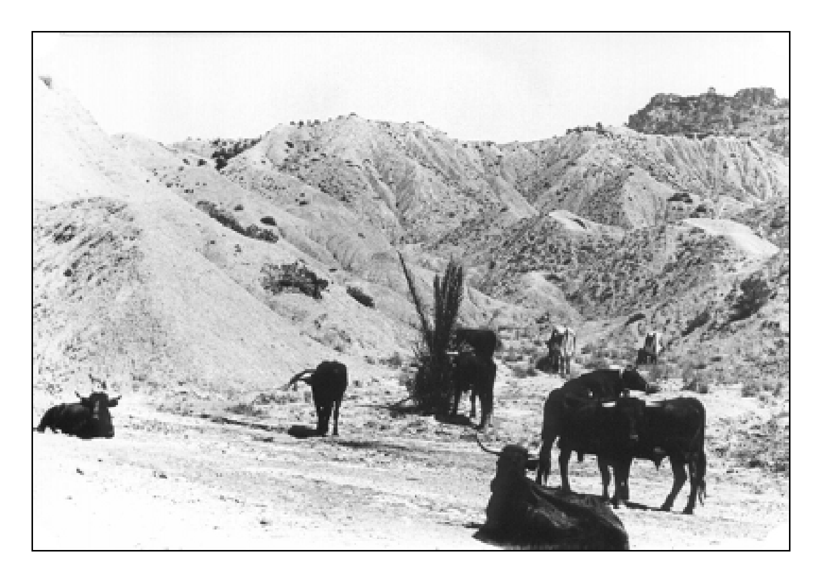
Presumably this Camino Real - now obliterated - continued along the hills towards Puerto de la Losilla, the same road where 30 to 50 years ago bulls entered Blanca to celebrate the bull runs of the August festivals.

In the past people walked from the road from Blanca to Puerto de la Losilla through the old livestock route (vía pecuaria) called Vereda de la ramabla de San Roque[126]. The way back was then from the Real Road (camino real) through la Venta de Jeromo or Callejones, and

[126] **MADOZ, P.** (1846) Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar, Tomo IV. Madrid, p. 354

thereafter through the rambla de San Roque to Baina, from which people could enter the village of Blanca[127].

The Arabs, different from the Romans, shun the strong slopes and that is why the Arab road from Negra (Blanca) to Murcia went by the river basin - possible along the river Segura - to Molina de Segura and from there to Murcia by the Roman road. The Customs place at Puerto de la Losilla must have had the necessary storage houses to store the goods, but it is logical to suppose that the animals were sent to places inside the Ricote valley and the cereals to the granary in Darrax.



Rest in the avenue of the bulls, before their arrival to Blanca. (Photo: © José María Molina Galera)

[127] **MOLINA TEMPLADO, José David** (2003) *Los caminos del valle en el pasado.* In: II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Vale de Ricote: “Despierta tus sentidos”. Blanca, 14, 15, 16 de Noviembre de 2003, pp. 331-348. Citation on p. 346



Arrival of the bulls through the *rambla de los toros*
(Photo: reproduced with the kind permission of ©Emilio Cano Candel, 2010)

Today the tower of Puerto de la Losilla is in ruins and that was the reason for the Cultural Associación “La Carrahila” to signpost in 2010 the old location of the Tower of Puerto de La Losilla. The stone landmark and tile poster have been placed on the only surviving remains of the tower to preserve the memory of something that should never have been lost: Puerto de la Losilla.



Remains of the tower of Puerto de la Losilla
(Photo: reproduced with the kind permission of © La Carrahila)

3. THE ALMORAVIDS IN TUDMIR AND BLANCA

According to *Crónica Latina* of the Emperor Alfonso VII many Christians called Mozarabs were deported in 1138 to Morocco by King Tashfin as well as captives and put them in the towns and castles with other Christians to fight the Almohades. Apparently this group of Christians lived in Morocco better than in the Peninsula. By 1150 many thousands of these Christians, Mozarabs and emancipated captives, who served the Almoravids, returned to Spain with their families[128] seeing that they could not sustain their already ruined empire.

The Almoravid period in the territory of Tudmir was between 1091 and 1144. The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids. Murcia had been taken for Yusuf b. Tashfin in Shawwal 484 (Nov.-Dec. 1091) by the Lamtunian general Ibn 'A'Isha, son of Yusuf b. Tashfin, who thereafter took Denia and Jativa. Muhammad Ibn 'A'isha remained governor in Murcia[129]. He probably governed in Murcia for about 20 years. Years thereafter a new mosque[130] was built and Magribi in his *Dikr bilad al-Andalus* said in this respect[131]: "*It has a large, spacious Great Mosque, built beautifully by the Emir of the Muslims Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashfin*".

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[128] **SIMONET, Francisco Javier**. (1897-1903) *Historia de los mozárabes de España.* La Real Academia de la Historia, pp. 755 and 761

[129] **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples.* E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

[130] **CARMONA GONZĀLEZ, A.** (2000) La expropiación forzosa por ampliación de mezquita en tres fetuas medievales. In: *Seminario l'urbanisme dans l'occident musulman au moyen âge: aspects juridiques,* pp. 144-152

[131] **MOLINA MARTÍNEZ, Luis** (1983) *Una descripción anónima de Al-Andalus,* Madrid, 2 vols, p. 145.

There is another aspect that we have to take into account when studying the political life of the governors of Murcia at the time of the Almoravids. Apparently the emir Yusuf ibn Tasfin understood Arabic, but could not speak this language[132]. This was probably the same case with his son Muhammad Ibn ‘A’isha.

At this time the Almoravids were forced to intermingle and integrate with the Muslims and Christians, so many of them married Christians and Muslims. However, their welcome of the Muslims in Spain did not last long, as the Bedouin nature of the Almoravids was not proportional to the civil nature of the Spanish cities. As a result the Muslims began to revolt against them and call for their return to North Africa. Apparently there are very few documented cases of marriages between them and the Muslims and Christians during that time.

3.1. The Puerto de la Losilla

The Almoravids imposed a colonial structure administered by *qadis,* who were experts in Maliki law and civil engineering. They also served as guardians of orphans, the poor, and the disabled, and were fiscal managers of charitable trusts. The *qadis* had power over local governors and reported to the Almoravid leader who kept a rotation court[133].

Maybe in the beginning there was good understanding between the Almoravids and the Muslims of the Ricote Valley, but after 20 or 30

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[132] Wafayat al-a’yan. Ed. I. ‘Abbas. Beirut: Dar al-Taqafa, 1968-1977, vol. 7, p. 114. See also: Nafh al-tib. Ed. I. ‘Abbas. Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, 1968, vol. 3, p. 191. Cited by **RACHID EL HOUR** (2015) Reflexiones acerca de las dinastías bereberes y lengua bereber en el Magreb Medieval. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* (MEAH), Sección Árabe-Islam, 64, pp. 45-57. Citation on p. 50

[133] **ROBINSON, Marsha R** (2013) *African Kingdoms.* An Encyclopedia of Empires and Civilizations. ABC-CLIO, LLC. Santa Barbara, California, p. 14

years this situation changed due to higher taxes and so there became a bridge between the people of the Ricote Valley and the members of the State, viz. the Almoravids, who were in charge of the taxes in the Puerto de la Losilla - a territory that today belongs to the village of Ulea.



Left foreground:
Remains of the tower of Puerto de la Losilla
Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld

Seeing that the population of Blanca continues with their pilgrimage to the Hermitage of San Roque nearby Puerto de la Losilla, I always see a very strong ancient connection between Puerto de la Losilla, Aldarache, and Negra (Blanca). This connection started at the time of the Almoravids in the 11th century. I will take this as a hypothesis.



Hermitage San Roque, nearby Puerto de la Losilla
Photo: courtesy of (c) Ángel Ríos Martínez

It was the responsibility of the *qadi* to supervise the treasury and promote agriculture in his district. The *hurras* were in charge under the *qadi's* supervision to determine the tax liability of a district. The Almoravids relied on tax farmers to collect the tax in the district. These tax farmers were high-ranking officers appointed to the military and administrative command of the district. They were much more effective when they also had the support and cooperation of the village chiefs.

However, this was not so easy because they failed to integrate "local aristocracies into their ruling system or form a loyal local bureaucracy". The *fuqaha* (jurists) whom they employed to administer justice were "not Almoravids: they were opportunists who supported the new regime only to perpetuate their own positions of power". Stricter than their masters in their interpretation of the Maliki law, they were unpopular with the people and also with the local elite, who "felt

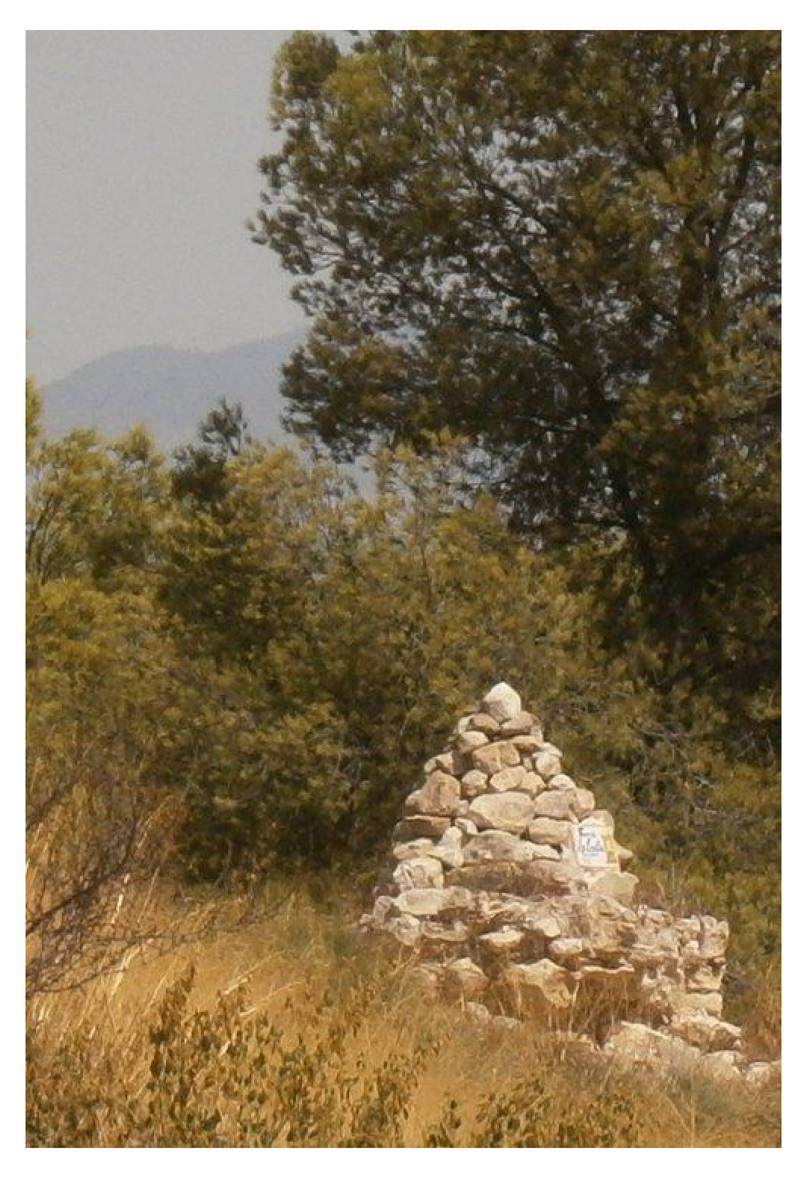
that they were passed over and had never been successfully integrated into the Almoravid hierarchy".

3.2. Rábita - Ribats

A *rábita* (plural ribat)[134] is an institution linked to war and religious life that produced different material structures. Most are still unrecognized and therefore have not been fully studied. *Ribat* was originally used as a term to describe a frontier post where travelers (particularly soldiers) could stay.

The term transformed over time to become known as a center for Sufi fraternities. R*ibats* were converted to peaceful use where Sufis could congregate. Usually *ribats* were inhabited by a *Shaykha* and his family and visitors were allowed to come and learn from him. These institutions were used as a sort of school house where a *Shaykha* could teach his disciples the ways of the specific Sufi brotherhood or fraternity. They were also used as a place of worship where the *Shaykha* could observe the members of the specific Sufi order and help them on their *Tariqa*, or their inner path to *Haqiqah*, or ultimate truth "reality".

[134] **TORRES BALBAS, L.** (1948) Rabitas hispano-musulmanas. En: *Al-Andalus,* Madrid, XIII/2, pp. 475-491



Remains of the tower of Puerto de la Losilla
Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld

Messier let us know that a *ribat* is a fortified post where horses were sometimes stabled, and the garrison of which combined military duties

with agriculture and pious and ascetic practices, geographically located on or near the frontier of *Dar al-Islam*[135].

On first conclusion we can affirm that a *rábita* (plural *ribat*) is a place where pious Muslims meet those who wish to fulfill the precept of holy war. Although *jihad* has a military character, the character of the *ribat* is rather spiritual, so they are not part of the military defensive system and the walls surrounding the enclave are for their own defense. At first they were located near the frontiers of Islam and on the crossings of roads where they would have water at their disposal, thus where existed the possibility of cultivation in its surroundings[136].

There are a number of names that allude to such buildings located on the Peninsula and in the Valencian Community. We had Morra de Roabit in Alicante; Revate in Orihuela; Todmir had a caliphal *ribat* near the town of Guadarmar del Segura. This caliphal *ribat* is situated on the dunes on the right bank of the river Segura, near the town of Guadarmar. This kind of fortified Muslim religious institution dates back to 944.

If we take the village of La Roda as an example, we observe that we hardly have reliable footprints from the Muslim period, except for the old name of *Robda*, suggesting to some historians that in the Almoravids' times the first frontier line of the Júcar with a *ribat* or *rábida* had been reinforced here, that it was a congregation of Muslims warriors willing to defend the frontier against the Christians; And to others that there were Muslim horsemen (arrobdas) to collect tax for the passage of cattle[137].

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[135] **MESSIER, Ronald A.** (2010) *The Almoravids and the Meaning of Jihad*. Praeger. Santa Barbara, California. Denver, Colorado. Oxford, England, p. 187

[136] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2004) Rábitas y Al-Monastir(es) en el norte y levante de la península de Al-Andalus. In: *La Rábita en el Islam. Estudios Interdisciplinares Congressos Internacionales de Sant Carles de la Rápita* (1989, 1997). Ajuntament de Sant Carles de la Ràpita. Universitat d'Alacant, pp. 95-110. Cita en p. 96

[137] http://www.turismolaroda.com/historia/historia/



Left foreground:
Remains of the tower of Puerto de la Losilla
Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld

At that time there were a huge quantity of *zawiyas*, (*ribat*), small oratorios and mausoleos in the cities and their surroundings. These centers of search for God and of knowledge became centers of pilgrimage in search of the *Baraka* of the founder of the same by the tombs attached to the *ribat.* Another function was to serve as a place of refuge for travelers, guests, the poor, and students (the *funduq*). And there were also the *zawiyas* of a more definite character, where only spiritual retreats or weekly meetings of the members of some Sufi brotherhood were held, or where a regular teacher taught.

3.1. Wadi Riqut

It is interesting to see the observations of Knysh[138] who refers to the anonymous "people of wadi Riqut" when he compares the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi with others:

> Nevertheless, the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi and his followers is, in Ibn Al-Khatib's view, closer to Islam than that of absolute unity, espoused by Abu 'Abdallah Al-Shudhi, Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214), Ibn Sab'in (d. 669/1270), Al-Shushtari (d. 668/1269), Ibn Mutarrif Al-Judhami Al-A'ama, the blind (d. 688/1289), and the anonymous "people of wadi Riqut".

In the origins of the Hudí revolt one finds certain religious and violent features, suggesting a popular context, perhaps mysticism. The prophets had announced the appearance of Ibn Hud, who presented himself as a providential personage.

> He said: "I am", he says to his first companions, "the Time Lord, and I will be who will again pronounce juba on behalf of the Abbasids[139]."

Yousef Alexander Casewit[140] gives more information about the biography of Ibn Sab'in stating that "Ibn Sab'in traces his lineage to Prophet Mohammad through 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib". He also refers to the Ricote Valley as followers of Hermeticism:

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[138] **KNYSH, Alexander** (1999) *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam*. State University of New York, p. 183.

[139] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia.* Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de València, p. 169

[140] **CASEWIT, Yousef Alexander** (2008) The Objective of Metaphysics in Ibn Sab'in's Answers to the Sicilian Questions. In*: Iqbal Review* (Pakistan), Vol. 49, Nº 2, pp. 1-6

LATOR, Stefan (1942) *Die Logik des Ibn Sab'in aus Murcia.* Doctoral thesis, University of Munich. Printed in Rome.

Muslim Hermetists: Among the Sufi Hermetists we find Abu ‘Abdallah Al-Shudhi of Seville, Ibn Mutarrif the Blind of Murcia, Muhammad Ibn Aĥla of Lorca and Al-Ĥajj Yasin Al-Maghribi. In *La Voie et la Loi*, (pp. 279-80) Ibn Khaldun[141] notes that “a large group of people from eastern Spain and the Ricote valley” were followers of Hermeticism.



Remains of Puerto de la Losilla
Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld

141 **IBN KHALDUN** (1991) *La Voie et la Loi: ou, Le Maìtre et le juriste.* Sindbad, pp. 279-280
See also: **URVOY, Dominique** (1972) Une étude sociologique des mouvements religieux dans l’Espagne musulmane de la chute du califat au milieu du XIIIe siècle. *In: Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez.* Tome 8, pp. 223-293. There is a nice development scheme of the Sufis on p. 79

Ibn Sab'in's writing style is quite obscure and mystical[142] and the Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy describes his language the best[143]:

> The language is full of expressions that are not easy to translate. Ibn Sab'in's passion for science and white magic prompted him to use extremely peculiar sentences. Often the logic of his arguments is interrupted by Sufi concepts that were not always understood by his contemporaries. In order to fully understand the complexity of Ibn Sab'in's writings, the reader is forced to acquire information not only from the classical texts of Islamic culture, but also from the fundamental texts of Jewish, Christian, Persian, and Hellenic thought. On the one hand, the difficulties in understanding Ibn Sab'in style as well as the several accusations of heresies explain the reason why lbn Sab'in's works were not very popular among scholars. On the other hand, Ibn Sab'in's aim was not to write popular philosophical works, rather the contrary.

There is a link between the Wadi Riqut, Sufism, and the Hudi dynasty. The proof is an emir named Badr Al-Din Hasan Ibn Hud (633-699 H/ 1236-1300 CE), grandnephew of Ibn Hud Al-Mutawakkil, who was the head of the Sufi sect of Sab'iniyya at Damascus in the second half of the thirteenth century. At that time there were two other Sufis who belonged to the sect of Sab'iniyya. The first one was *shayk* Al-Kashani Al-Fargani (D. 1300) who was a pupil of Sadr Al-Din Al-Qunawi and the second one was the mystic poet 'Afif Al-Din Sulayman Al-Tilimsani (1212-1291), who met Ibn Sab'in in Cairo. The founder of the movement in Damascus was Ibn Sab'in of the Wadi Riqut. Pierre Guichard is right in his observation that both Ibn Sab'in as the hudí emir of Damascus seem to come from a specific political-religious context of Murcia and the Murcia region. The core of the movement was probably in the Wadi Riqut where the Sufis Riqut could practice their religion unhindered.

142 **MASSIGNON, Louis** (1928) Ibn Sab'in et la critique psychologique. In: *Mémorial Henri Basset. Nouvelles études nord-africaines et Orientales*, Paris, Vol. II, pp. 123-130

143 **LAGERLUND, Henrik** (2011) *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, Canada, p. 511

3.2. Wahda mutlaqa

If we study the literature, we will observe that the Christians mostly copied many habits of the Muslims and so we can come to a certain conclusion about Puerto de la Losilla. We observe that the *ribat* in the 10th century was a place for the customs to collect taxes and religious soldiers to defend a territory. Little by little the *ribat* changed and its function became more involved with taxes and less with soldiers, while the religious soldiers became more devoted to a strictly religious life. It is not clear whether at the time of the Almoravids religious soldiers started to live in Aldarache or continued to stay in Puerto de la Losilla. Maybe future archaeological investigations will clarify this event.



Aldarache, a farmstead of Negra (Blanca)
Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld

After 1283 we observe that Puerto de la Losilla came into the hands of the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, also known as "The Order of St. James of the Sword", a Military Order with religious knights.

However, taking into account that the population of Blanca continues to have a pilgrimage to the Hermitage of San Roque and that the situation of this Hermitage is very near Puerto de la Losilla, it is logical to think that at the time of the Almoravids and Almohads pilgrimages were also made to a presumed small oratory in that place. We know that the inhabitants of *Wadi Riqut* (Ricote Valley) adhered in those years to an extremist mystical doctrine known as *Wahda mutlaqa*[144]. However, we are unaware of its place, although I suspect that it had to do with the State, thus with the Almohads. In such case we can think more of places such as Puerto de la Losilla and Aldarache then of Ricote.

Puerto de la Losilla

Muslims	Christians after 1283
Customs and Tax place: Ribat, Robda The ribat is a holy place: Jyad and Defense Unknown possible Holy place: Sufi place *Wahda mutlaqa* Possible Pilgrimage Center (No proofs)	Customs of Ruelda (Ruebda) de la Losilla The Order of Santiago Religious soldiers Pilgrimage of San Roque (Negra/ Blanca) to the Hermitage of San Roque nearby Puerto de La Losilla

[144] **MASSIGNON, L.** (1982) *The Passion of Al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam.* 4 Vols. Translated from the French by H. Mason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Vol. II, p. 331
MASSIGNON, Louis (1975) *La Passion de Hosayn b. Mansour Hallaj: martyr mystique de l'Islam exécuté à Baghdad le 26 mars 922:* 4 vols., New ed., Bibliothèque des Idées, Paris, Gallimard

3.2.1. al-‘Uryabi of Olya (Ulea)

While I was writing this work, Dr. Ricardo Montes Bernárdez, Official Chronicler of the Murcian city Torres de Cotillas, wrote me on 12 September 2017 asking me whether the Sufí Abu Ga’far Ahmad al-‘Uryabi and the place Olyo could have been from the village of Ulea in the Ricote Valley instead of the village of Olya del Algarve. As the reader will observe, this finding perfectly completes my earlier hypothesis mentioned in this chapter[145], so I immediately confirmed this to him in writing and by phone, because Olya is quite similar to Olea (and Oleya), the ancient names of Ulea.

But who exactly was Abu Ga’far Ahmad al-‘Uryabi who was mentioned by Ibn ‘Arabi, recalling that his teacher was Christian (*‘îsâwî*) at the end of his life? Precisely this Ibn al-’Arabî was of a Murcian origin and in his books he confesses that he began as an *‘îsâî*, became *mûsâwî* (Moses-like), then *hûdî* (Hud-like), and *Muhammadan* in the end[146].

Coming back to al-‘Uryabi, what do we know about him? We know that al-‘Uryabi was also cited in some sources by the surnames al-‘Uryanî or al-‘Uraybî[147] and Asín Palacios states that he came from the Portuguese village of Olya in the Algarve of Al-Andalus. On the other hand Olya is today’s *Loule* near Silves in the Algarve of Portugal

[145] **WESTERVELD, Govert** (2017) *The Berber Hamlet Aldarache in the XII-XIII centuries. The origin of Puerto de la Losilla, the Cabezo de la Cobertera, and the village of Negra (Blanca) in the Ricote Valley* (In press).

[146] **YOO JEONG JAE** (2013) *Jesus According to Ibn al-‘Arabî and Christian Scholars.* Thesis submitted to the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations. American University in Cairo, p. 25

[147] See Ibn al-‘Arabî’s *R. Rûh al-quds* (Cairo: ‘Âlam al-Fikr, 1989), pp. 88-91, *et al.,* translated by Ralph W.J. Austin in *Sufis of Andalusia* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), pp. 63-68. In the *Futûhât* (vol. III, p. 359, I. 26) Ibn al-‘Arabî gives his *kunya* as Abû l-‘Abbâs, and some sources have the surname al-‘Uryabî or al-‘Uraybî. Cited by **ELMORE, Gerard** (1998) New Evidence on the Conversion of Ibn Al-‘Arabî to Sûfism. In: *Arabica*, T. 45, Fasc. 1, pp. 50-72. Citation on p. 51

according to Miguel Palacios[148]. This Arabist mentioned Ulea[149] in his list of probably or surely Arab names of places, not yet deciphered.

The first thing that I see as independent researcher is lack of a good description of the title of the book. Asín Palacios simply states "Marrekoshi" and that is all. Thereafter all Arabists or researchers copy Asín Palacios without giving the exact title of the edition of Dozy. This means that many writers blindly accept what Asín Palacios wrote.

Worse still, there is nothing about *Loule* nearby Silves in the Algarve on page 272 of Dozy's book. Dozy, who transcribes the Arabic text of al-Marrekoshi, only states that "Olya is a town situated near Sevilla and that Sevilla is situated to the west of Portugal". Consequently, in the case of this book it is now reasonable to concentrate on the Murcian village of Ulea as the possible place of origin of al-'Uryari.

We have the same story with regards to the reference to the manuscript. Who is Ibn Sa'id? Asín Palacios does not translate the Arabic texts of the manuscript 80 of the *Real Academia de la Historia.* Consequently we do not know what was in the manuscript. Does he refer to the author Uryabi or is he only saying that Olya is Algarve?

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148 **IBN SA'ID,** Arabic Manuscript 80 of the Academia de Historia, Madrid, folios 199v, 213v. (Ali Abensaid el Magrebi, Mógrib. Historiador que floreció de 1212 a 1274)
ABDO-'L-WÂHID AL-MARRÊKOSHI (1881) The History of the Almohades, preceded by a sketch of the history of Spain, from the times of the conquest till the reign of Yúsuf Ibn-Tasfin, and of the history of the Almoravides. Edited by R. P. A. Dozy, second edition, Leyden, p. 272. (The first edition was from 1847). Cited by **ASÍN PALACIOS, Miguel** (1933) *Vidas de Santones Andaluces. La «Epístola de la Santidad», de Ibn 'Arabi de Murcia*, p. 52. With thanks to Dr. Ricardo Montes Bernárdez

149 **ASÍN PALACIOS, Miguel** (1944) *Contribución a la toponimia árabe en España.* Patronato Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid, p. 153

Fortunately there were other authors who tell us a little more about Ibn Sa'id and so pushing things together in this puzzle we can now state that Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (1208?–1286), born in Alcalá de Henares and also known as Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, was a geographer, historian, poet, and the most important collector of poetry from al-Andalus in the 12th and 13th centuries. He was also known in Spain as Abensaid el Magrebi.

With these data and knowing that the MS. 80 is in the Real Academia de la Historia I finally could go to the sources, of which I think it was Codera y Zadaín who wrote about this manuscript[150]:

> Nº. 80. Very voluminous file of about 400 sheets, containing a sheet-by-sheet copy of the files or fragments of one or several volumes of the work of Aben Çaid, of which there is another autographic volume by the author at the same library of Cairo, and from which we have a copy in our library; of the contents of the new tome given to the Academy, I propose to give detailed account of its importance, although what was said of the other volume is not so great as might be expected of the author's fame.

In another publication by Codera and Zaidín we observe the following text in folio 200[151] in the description of this manuscript:

> "Book 4. 'Of the books of the West of Al-Andalus on the excellences of the Kingdom of Silves".

And in another description of this manuscript we observe in folio 213:

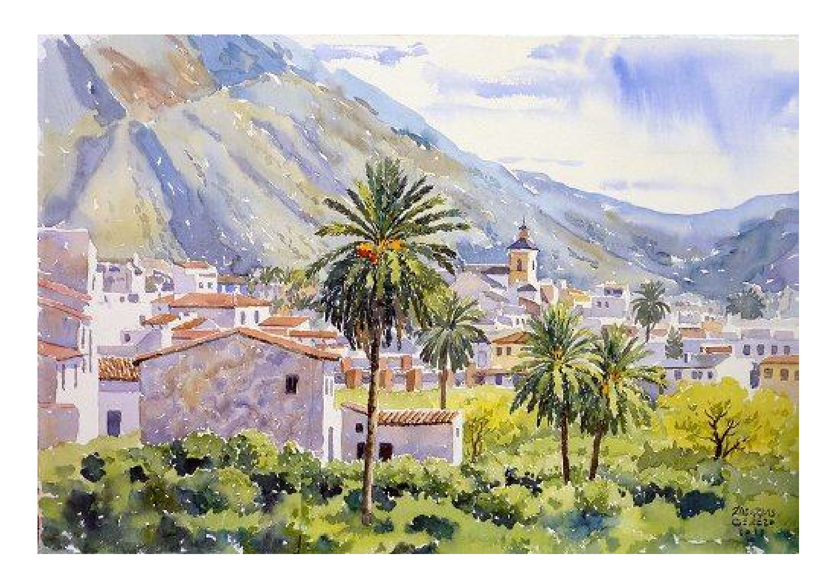
> "Book 5º 'city of ¿Alolya?".

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150 **CODERA Y ZAIDÍN, Francisco** (1895) Libros árabes adquiridos para la Academia. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.* Tomo 26, Cuaderno VI. Junio, pp. 408-416. Cita en p. 415

151 **CODERA Y ZAIDÍN, Francisco** (1895) Copia de un tomo de Aben Çaid, regalada a la Academia. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia.* Tomo 27, Cuaderno I-III. Julio-Septiembre, pp. 148-160. Cita en pp. 156 y 157

Unfortunately I could not check whether Uryabi, Uraybi[152] or Uryani was mentioned in this manuscript. If not, the question is why Asín Palacios took Alolya and not Olya[153] as happened in 910 and is described by Sánchez-Albornoz:



Painting of Ulea
Courtesy of (c) Zacarías Cerezo

> In 298 [9 September 910] Isa ben Ahmad ben Abi Abda, who defended the city of Baena, marched with his cavalry against Umar ben Hafsun and Said ben Mastana, who had advanced on the plain of Cabra on the side of Córdoba and had given themselves to plunder. He fought with them on the bank of the Olya. After a fierce battle the two rebel chiefs were defeated, leaving a multitude of soldiers on the ground while the rest fled in all directions, Isa sent a large number of heads to Cordoba after his triumph.

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[152] The name Uraybi is used in various manuscripts. Cfr. **ABRAHAMOV, Binyamin** (2014). *Ibn al-'Arabi and the Sufis.* Anqa Publishing. Oxford, p. 165.

[153] **SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio** (1946) *La España musulmana: según los autores islamitas y cristianos medievales,* Volumen 1. El Ateneo, Spain, p. 230
ENCINAS MORAL, Ángel (2005) *Cronología histórica de Al-Andalus.* Miraguano Ediciones, p. 74

There's no doubt that Olya near Silves is a more attractive place than Olya near Cabra, or Seville as observed by Dozy, because Ibn Qasi came from Silves and had his famous Sufi centre there. However, Olya of the Ricote valley also had its Sufi centre. Consequently it is now reasonable to concentrate on the Murcian village of Ulea as a possible place of origin of al-'Uryari.

There was no way to find out who apart from Asín Palacios had studied the fact that Olya is from today's *Loule* nearby Silves in the Algarve of Portugal. All Arabists and writers accepted Asín Palacios's conclusion. Therefore I believe that it is now time to think of Olya as a possible place of Ulea in Murcia, as proposed by Montes Bernárdez.

Before going into more detail I will cite some studies done in relation to Ulea:

3.2.1.1. Is the castle of Ulea al-Sujur?

Until now all scholars have held the opinion that Ibn Hud had his insurrection in the castle of Ricote, but we will observe that the various Arabic authors do not speak about Riqut, but of al-Sujur, al-Sujayrat and Arbuna.

3.2.1.1.1. Al-Razi

The story of Al-Razi from the 10th century is related somewhat differently by Emilio Molina López[154] who added the *hisn al Sujur*:

> Al-Razi refers to the act that in the middle of its course the river runs between mountains, by the hamlet of *Riqut* and *al-hisn al Sujur*, 18 miles from Murcia.

154 **MOLINA LOPEZ, Emilio** (1972) La cora de Todmir según al-'Udrî siglo XI. Aportaciones al estudio geográfico-descriptivo del SE penicular. *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, núm. 4. Granada. Vid Al-Udri. p. 35

Al-Razi added that if this mountainous area did not exist, the water would flood the territory of Murcia.

The name of the *hisn* al-Sujur (small castle) in this period means that the castle could not have been Negra (Blanca), which strengthens the hypothesis of Ortega López[155] and López Moreno[156].

3.2.1.1.2. Ibn Idari

There were other people who adhered to Ibn Hud and went to the place known by al-Sujayrat, in the vicinity of Murcia and there they proclaimed him (.....)[157].

3.2.1.1.3. Al-Himyarî

Ricote is located at the foot of Hisn al-Sujur or the castle of the Rocky Mountains (Peñascos), where (according to al-Himyarî) was the place

[155] **ORTEGA LÓPEZ, Dimas** (2002) Orígenes del Valle de Ricote: La ciudad romana de Riqut. In: *I Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos".* Abarán, 8 y 9 de Noviembre de 2002. Abarán, pp. 147-156. Citation on p. 154

[156] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2014). Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote). In: *Actas II Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote, 20/27 abril, 2012.* Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila» Abarán, pp. 55-100.

[157] **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (1953) *Al-Bayan al-Mugrib fi ijtisar ajbar muluk al-andalus wa al-Magrib por Ibn Idari Al-Marrakusi. Los Almohades,* tomo I. Traducción española. Editoria Marroqui. Tetuán, pp. 305-310. Citation on pp. 305 and 309. Vol. II, pp. 203-207

where Ibn Hud rebelled against the Almohads, starting from there to the conquest of the old kingdom of Murcia, expelling the Africans[158]:

> Today's Ricote is at the foot of the Hisn al-Sujur or castle of the *Peñascos*, where, according to al-Himyarî, the place was in which Ibn Hud rebelled against the Almohads, starting from there to the conquest of the old kingdom of Murcia, expelling the Africans.

3.2.1.1.4. Ibn al-Khatib

The toponym of al-Sujur was quoted by Ibn al-Khatib[159] according to Emilio Molina López[160].

3.2.1.1.5. Ibn Abi Zar

In 625 (12 December 1227 to 29 November 1228) Ibn Hud, who surnamed himself al-Mutawakil, revolted in the castle of Arbuna in eastern Al-Andalus and was proclaimed in the name of the Caliph 'Abbasi[161].

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3.2.1.1.6. King Alfonso X the Wise

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[158] **LEVI PROVENÇAL, Évariste and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI** (1938) *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d'après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, pp. 118/144 and p. 180

[159] **IBN AL-KHATIB**, Kitab A'mal, pp. 278-279. There is a Spanish translation by **CASTRILLO MÁRQUEZ, Rafaela** (1983) Kitab a'mal al-a'lam. Ibn al-Jatib; traducción, notas e índices. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura.

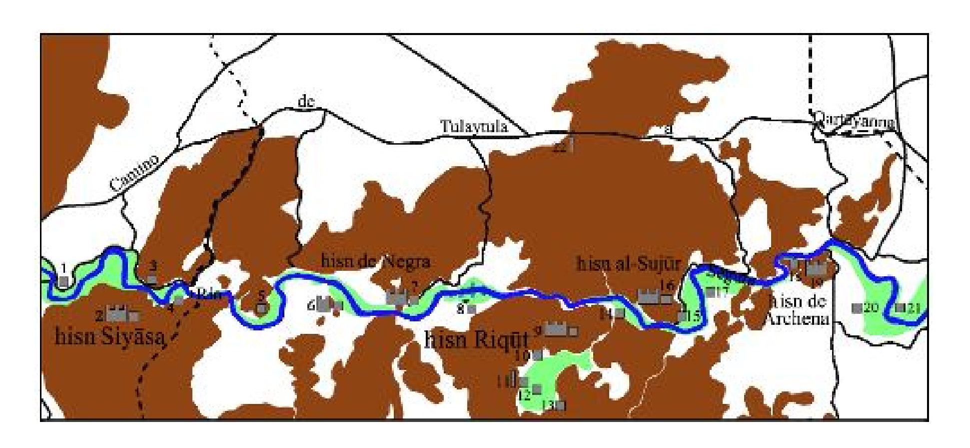
IBN AL-KHATIB, Ihata, II, pp. 128-132. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1978) Aziz B. Jattab, destacada personalidad política, científica y literaria murciana del siglo XIII. In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, Nº. 4, pp. 63-89. Citation on p. 78

[160] **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972) La Cora de Tudmir según Al-'Udri (S. XI). In: *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam.* Universidad de Granada, p. 35

[161] **IBN ABI ZAR** (1964) *Raw al-Qirtas.* Translation in Spanish. A. Huici Miranda, in *Textos Medievales,* 13, Vol. II, Valencia, pp. 525-526

The book “Estoria de España” of King Alfonso X the Wise, written around 1284 and edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, is the only source that shows that Ibn Hud (Abenhut) rose in the castle of Ricot:

> (....) et esos dias del rey don Fernando, leuantose en el castiello Ricot, en termino de Murçia, un moro que dizien Abenhut; et començo de guerrear contra los almohades[162].



Hisn al-Sujur
Photo: (c) Courtesy of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno

However, one source is not enough to be sure that Ibn Hud rose in the castle of Ricote. It is now time to think on the hypothesis of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno who thinks that Ibn Hud rose in the castle of Ulea[163]:

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[162] **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1793/1968). *Primera Crónica General de España*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, p. 721.
[163] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2014). Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote). In: *Actas II Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote, 20/27 abril, 2012.* Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila» Abarán, pp. 55-100. Citation on pp. 61 and 62.



View from the ancient castle of Ulea (Al-Sujur), high in the mountains (Photo: (c) Govert Westerveld)

However, some of the forms of the name "Las Peñas de Oxox" in the documentation of the Aragonese occupation are significant[164]: *Penna d´Oxuix*, *La Penna de Sux,* and *La Peyna de Xoys.* We can intuit that some of the variants of the second part of the toponym, like the "Sux" form, have a very close relation to the Arabic word "sujūr". Therefore it is reasonable to think of a possible relationship between "hisn al-Sujūr" and Las Peñas de Oxox. In this way we manifested it by the phonetic resemblance, breaking the correspondence "hisn Riqūt" and "hisn al-Sujūr" and seeing two fortresses in the Arabian sources[165]. Another proof would be the translation of "hisn al-

[164] **SÁINZ DE LA MAZA LASOLI, R.** (1997) "Los santiaguistas del Reino de Murcia durante la ocupación aragonesa (1296-1304)", *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 11, pp. 273-299. Citations on pp. 295-297

[165] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2008) *El Valle de Ricote a través de sus fortalezas. Rutas históricas por su poblamiento antiguo y medieval*, Natursport. Murcia, pp. 32 y 33

Sujūr" by "fortress of Las Peñas" and its significant correspondence with the castle and village denominated "Las Peñas de Oxox" in the rest of the Castilian medieval documentation. We see here a direct translation, which would lead us to the pleonasm "Las Peñas de las Peñas". That none of the known Arab sources cite "hisn Riqūt", as the place of insurrection of Ibn Hūd and that the Castilian documentation so narrates, induces to think that "hisn al-Sujūr" was included within the administration of "hisn Riqūt.

3.2.1.2. Oleya belongs to the Ricote Valley

When I spoke to Dr. Montes Bernárdez I remembered that Oleya and Olea are two names for Ulea and quite similar to Olya. So at first I will try to prove his hypothesis that Oleya could have belonged to the Ricote Valley. In this case I have to revert to documentation that I published in 1997 and that was based on a document of 1336 found by Regina Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli in 1988 and which is in the *Archivo de Corona de Aragón*[166] and another document of 1384 found by Francisco Veas Arteseros[167] (See appendix 19.4.):

1336. Robo de ganado en Jumilla.
En 1336, concretamente el 28 de diciembre, un desagradable suceso provocó una fricción entre el monarca aragonés y el maestre de Santiago y trajo serias consecuencia para el patrimonio aragonés de la Encomienda de Montalbán. El alcaide de Ricote Abraem, y el alcaide de Priego, con compañías del valle de Ricote y Cieza de la Orden de Santiago, se apoderaron de una cabaña de ganado, propiedad de ciertos habitantes de Teruel y que por éstos la tenía en custodia y era pastor y mayoral un tal Miguel de Rubielos, vecino de Teruel.

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[166] **SÁINZ DE LA MAZA LASOLI, R.** (1988) *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (II).* La Encomienda de Montalbán (1327-1357), Zaragoza. pp. 92-93
- 1. ACA, C, reg. 588, fol. 206v.
- 2. ACA, C, reg. 591, fols. 122r.-123r.

Cited by **WESTERVELD, Govert (**1997) *Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700.* ISBN 84-923151-0-5. Foreword by Prof. Juan Torres Fontes, Universidad de Murcia. Beniel, p. 138

[167] **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco** (1990) *Documentos del siglo XIV* (3). Codom XII. Murcia. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio. Murcia. pp. 234-237. Cited by **WESTERVELD, Govert (**1997) *Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700,* pp. 155-157.

El robo era importante, pues la cabaña constaba de 2999 cabezas de ganado, quince asnos y once perros, todo lo cual, juntamente con el hato, fue sustraído en el término de Jumilla, de Gonzalo García, el cual había permitido que este ganado pastase en su propiedad.

Pese a que Gonzalo García pidió al maestre que ordenase al comendador de Ricote restituir el ganado, éste no lo hizo y Miguel de Rubielos se vio en la necesidad urgente de implorar remedio al rey; en atención a su súplica, el monarca rogó al maestre Vasco Rodríguez que tramitase la devolución del ganado al pastor, junto con los gastos que la sustracción le habían ocasionado, pues de lo contrario tendría que actuar en justicia[1].

Pero mientras tenía lugar esta correspondencia entre el rey y el maestre, gentes de Aragón, capitaneadas por Domingo Lorenzo y en compañía de hombres de Jumilla, tomándose la justicia por la mano, accedieron a la localidad santiaguista de Oleya, de donde se llevaron cuantos ganados de moros encontraron. Parece ser que el comendador de Ricote había dado instrucciones de no devolver el ganado robado a Miguel de Rubielos hasta que se enmendara el robo de **Oleya**, por lo que el maestre rogó que el daño producido en esta localidad fuese reparado.

Era el 20 de octubre de aquel mismo año de 1337 cuando el monarca escribió al maestre asegurándole que había obtenido certificación, tanto del robo cometido a Miguel de Rubielos como del perpetrado por Domingo Lorenzo; en relación a este último había averiguado que, aunque era aragonés, no había cometido el robo en tierras de Aragón sino en las de Juan Manuel, que entonces guerreaba con el maestre y por su mandato había efectuado la sustracción. Además, había hecho tasar la cuantía del robo perpetrado al pastor, que ascendía a 15.000 sueldos reales, más 1.500 por gastos y 2 sueldos por libra de interés desde el día en que ocurrió el suceso. Con toda esta información, Pedro el Ceremonioso rogó al maestre obligara a sus vasallos a restituir a dicho Miguel de Rubielos lo que le fue robado y le pagara las cantidades señaladas, pues de lo contrario, no pudiendo negar la justicia a un vasallo de Aragón, daría licencia a este pastor para embargar bienes del maestre que bastasen a la restitución.

Loose translation:

1336. Theft of cattle in Jumilla

In 1336, specifically on December 28, an unpleasant event caused friction between the Aragonese monarch and the master of Santiago and brought serious consequences for the Aragonese heritage of the Encomienda de Montalbán. The Mayor of Ricote Abraem, the Mayor of Priego, and companies from the Ricote and Cieza Valley of the Order of Santiago seized a cattle hut owned by certain inhabitants of Teruel, and because of them one Miguel de Rubielos, a resident of Teruel, had them in custody and was pastor and manager. The robbery was important, because the hut consisted of 2999

heads of cattle, fifteen donkeys and eleven dogs, all of which, together with the herd, were stolen in the territory of Jumilla, owned by Gonzalo García who allowed this cattle to graze on his property.

Although Gonzalo García asked the master to order the commander of Ricote to restitute the cattle, he did not do so and Miguel de Rubielos was in urgent need of imploring the king's remedy; in response to his plea the monarch begged master Vasco Rodríguez to arrange the return of the cattle to the pastor along with the expenses that the abduction had incurred him, otherwise he would have to act justly[1].

But while this correspondence between the king and the master took place, people of Aragon, captained by Domingo Lorenzo and accompanied by men from Jumilla, taking justice by the hand, accessed the Santiaguist town of Oleya from where they took as much of the Moors' cattle as they could find. It seems that Ricote's commander had given instructions not to return the stolen cattle to Miguel de Rubielos until the theft of **Oleya** was amended, so the master begged that the damage produced in this town be repaired.

It was October 20 of that same year when the monarch wrote to the master assuring him that he had obtained confirmation both of the robbery committed to Miguel de Rubielos and of that perpetrated by Domingo Lorenzo; in relation to the latter he had found out that although he was Aragonese, he had not committed the robbery on Aragonese land, but on the land of Juan Manuel, who was then warring with the master and by whose command he had committed the theft. In addition, he had assessed the amount of robbery perpetrated to the pastor, which amounted to 15,000 real salaries, plus 1,500 for expenses and 2 salaries per pound of interest from the day on which the event occurred. With all this information Peter the Ceremonious begged the master to force his vassals to return to Miguel de Rubielos what was stolen from him and pay the indicated amounts, otherwise, not being able to deny justice to a vassal of Aragon, he would give this pastor permission to impound the master's assets that would be enough for restitution.

3.2.1.3. Consuelo Hernández Carrasco

Consuelo Hernández Carrasco[168] also made a study of the toponym Ulea. Here I give some points of her study:

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[168] **HERNÁNDEZ CARRASCO, Consuelo** (1978). El árabe en la toponimia murciana. In: *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 153-267. Citation on pp. 233-234. With thanks to Dr. Ricardo Montes Bernárdez.

The “Fundamentum" of Bishop Comontes (1447-1458) reflects the toponym name as *Olea*, or more accurately, *Peñas de Olea.*

.....

Al Qartayanni registers a *Yazirat al-'Ulya* (high island), (quoted in p. 100 of García Gómez), perhaps referring to Ulea, if this population had previously been surrounded by two arms of the Segura.

3.2.1.4. Arnald Steiger

To well understand the idea of Arnald Steiger of what is the toponymous explanation of Ulea it is necessary to cite his full text here[169]:

Vamos primero con el nombre de *Alguazas.* Tengo que confesar paladinamente que tendré por novela todo lo que de su etimología nos cuentan Diaz Cassou y demás autores murcianos. Este ayuntamiento del partido de Mula, situado en la ribera derecha del río Segura, aparece en una carta de venta del año 1311, Archivo de la Catedral de Murcia (...«vinja que... ha en *Alguasta,* huerta de Murçia...»). Esta grafía viene confirmado por el nombre de la actual acequia de *Alguazas: alguasta, alhuasta, alwazta.* Estas formas han de remontar, sin duda alguna, al ar. *wust'â* (*wast'â,* forma vulgar hispano-árabe) que designa ‘la de enmedio, la mediana, la que está entre los dos extremos’. Es muy curioso comparar con este topónimo el de la ciudad del Iraq Wâsit’, de la misma raíz, así llamada por su situación en medio de las ciudades de Kufa, Basra, Bagdad y Ahwâz. Por de pronto, esta etimología constituye una aportación capital a la interpretación de otros topónimos, porque me lleva a pensar que la designación de ‘la que está en medio’ pudiera haberse originado con referencia a otros emplazamientos, uno de los cuales estaría necesariamente situado más arriba del río Segura: y he aquí que se presenta el nombre del pueblecito de *Ulea* con sus magníficos huertos, y este nombre debe de corresponder al ar. *‘ulliya* ‘la alta’ que, además ha adquirido el significado de ‘belvedere’.

Loose translation:

Let’s go first with the name of *Alguazas*. I have to confess paladinly that I will have by novel everything that Diaz Cassou and other Murcian authors tell us about its etymology. This municipality of the Mula territory, located on the

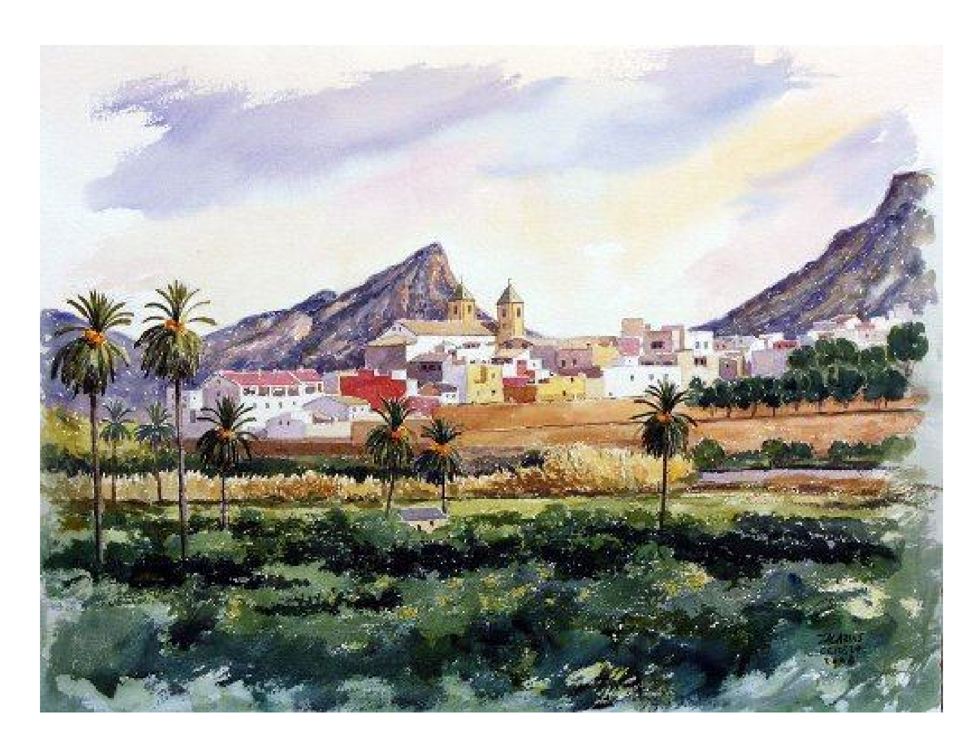
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169 **STEIGER, Arnald (**1958) Toponimia árabe de Murcia. In: *Murgetana,* Nº. 11, Murcia, pp. 9-27. Citation on pp. 24-25

> right bank of the river Segura, appears in a letter of sale from 1311, Archive of the Cathedral of Murcia (...«vinja that ... was in *Alguasta*, orchard of Murçia...»). This script is confirmed by the name of the current irrigation ditch of *Alguazas*: *alguasta, alhuasta, alwazta*. Without a doubt these forms must go back to ar. *wust'â* (*wast'â,* Spanish-Arabic vulgar form) that designates 'the middle one, the median, the one between the two extremes'. It is very curious to compare this name with the city of Iraq Wâsit', from the same root, so called because of its location in the middle of the cities of Kufa, Basra, Baghdad, and Ahwâz. For the moment this etymology constitutes a capital contribution to the interpretation of other place names, because it leads me to think that the designation of 'the one in the middle' could have originated with reference to other sites, one of which would necessarily be located above the river Segura: and here is the name of the village of Ulea with its magnificent orchards, and this name must correspond to the ar. *'ulliya* 'the high' which has also acquired the meaning 'belvedere'.

On the other hand Steiger let us know that the term *Al-'Uljâ* has to do with the place *Loulé* (Algarve)[170].

[170] **STEIGER, Arnald** (1932). *Contribución a la fonética del hispanoárabe.* R.F.E. (Anejo XVII), Madrid, p. 237.



The village Asnete (Villanueva de Segura)
Painting of (c) Zacarías Cerezo

3.2.1.5. Robert Pocklington

This author mentioned the studies of Hernández Carrasco and Steiger, indicating that the roots of the Arabic *'Uliyya* or *'Ulliyya (sic) "*la Alta" should not give the desired phonetic results and we would only get *Olía.* To obtain the result of *Olea* he gives some suggestions, among them the diminutive *'Ulayya "*la Altica"[171].

[171] **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (1986) *Notas de toponimia arábigo-murciano.* In: *Sharq Al-Andalus*, Nº. 3, pp. 115-128. Citation on pp. 126-127

3.2.1.6. Jesús Joaquín López Moreno

In a quite interesting study about the administrative model for the castells in the Ricote Valley López Moreno gives some ancient names for the villages of this valley, among them Oleya (Ulea), Asnete (Villanueva de Segura), Favaran (Abarán), and others. With regards to Oleya he cites Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli and observes in a note[172]:

> As far as we know, the first time the settlement of Ulea ("Oleya") is recorded, was in a late medieval documentation, when, in 1337, people from Aragon and Jumilla entered the place to steal the cattle from the Moors[173].

3.2.1.7. Hajar Itobi

With respect to the word *Olya* which the various Arabists indicate, and which in our view could be *Ulea, Olea,* or *Oleya*, we observe that there is no firm opinion among the Arabists, so I have consulted an Arabic teacher[174] who communicated the following:

> As we have seen with *al-Ulya*[175], this toponym name is the same as *Olaya*[176] Arabic writing is always written in the same way, but translation or transcription in Latin script is often written in several ways. We have an example in the word *Mohamed* that has only one script in Arabic, but the Latin one has *Muhammed, Mouhamed, Mohamad,* and *Mouhamed.* The same is true of the Arabic word *Olya,* which has one script in Arabic, but in the Latin script we see *Olya, Olea, Oleya,* and *Ulea.*

[172] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2014), «Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote)», *Actas II Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote. Abarán, Blanca y Cieza, 20/27 abril, 2012*, Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila», Murcia, pp. 55-99. Citation on p. 61.
[173] **SÁINZ DE LA MAZA LASOLI, R.** (1988), *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (II). La Encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova (1327-1357)*, «Institución Fernando el Católico», Zaragoza, pp. 92-93.
[174] With thanks to my friend Hajar Itobi of Rabat.
[175] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qaryat_al-Ulya
[176] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olaya_(Riyadh)

Thanks to the research of Montes Bernárdez I am now able to ameliorate the situation for Puerto de la Losilla, whereby the role of Ulea is becoming important in history.

Puerto de la Losilla

Muslims	Christians after 1283
Customs and Tax place: Ribat, Robda The ribat is a holy place: Jyad and Defense Possible Holy place: Sufi place *Wahda mutlaqa* Abu Ga'far Ahmad al-'Uryabi from Olya (Ulea) Possible Pilgrimage Center (No proofs)	Customs of Ruelda (Ruebda) de la Losilla The Order of Santiago Religious soldiers Pilgrimage of San Roque to the Hermitage of San Roque nearby Puerto de La Losilla

3.2.2. Conclusion and hypothesis

The name Olya could have been the old name for Ulea. Thanks to the finding of Dr. Montes Bernárdez it was possible to adequately finalize the table and origin of the unknown place in the Ricote Valley where in the 13th century, and possibly also in the 12th century, Muslims practised the *Wahda mutlaqa* and that I suspected to be in Puerto de la Losilla. With Montes Bernardez's finding it is reasonable to accept that the Sufís of the *Wahda mutlaqa* were situated in Olya, the Arabic name for today's Ulea, or nearby Olya, thus in Puerto de la Losilla. The village of Ulea already existed in the Roman time, as did the Spa of the village of Archena situated near Ulea. On the other hand it is logical to believe that Ibn Arabí, when living in Seville, for his first contact with the Sufís looked for Sufís from his own birthplace or near it. In this case Abu Ga'far Ahmad al-'Uryabi, who had lived in Olya

(Ulea) - a village 30km from the town of Murcia and who could introduce thereafter him to the other Sufís in Seville.

3.3. Women and the Almoravids

An outstanding Berber woman was Zaynab an-Nafzawiyyah who married several Berber emirs, among the first men being Almoravid emir of al-Andalus Yusuf ibn Tashufin (Tasfin for others) reigning from 1061 till 1106. He was a strong ruler who also acted on his wife's directives (*wa-bi-tadbîr zawjatihi*)[177].

Viguera Molíns let us know that Zaynab and other women were very important for the Almoravids in that period. Zaynab was the ex-wife of the deposed emir of Agmat, Luqud al-Maghrawi, and of the Almoravid emir Abu Bakr ibn-Umar. The Almohads took advantage of this circumstance to accuse this empire of being perverted because they gave power to their women[178]. The *Rawd al-Qirtas* says that Yusuf owed the conquest of the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, and Spain) to her advice, and that she was so expert in conducting negotiations that she was nicknamed "The Magician".

Since there are no documents it is very difficult to find out how the occupying Almoravids could have lived in Murcia and eventually in Blanca. According to the archaeologists the granary of Blanca was

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[177] **IDARI AL-MARAKISHI** (1998) *Al-Baydân Al-Mugrib fi akhbâr Al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib.* In: G.S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal (eds). Beirut, Vol IV, p. 22. Cited by **MOURTADA-SABBAH, Nada & GULLY, Adrian** (2003) 'I Am, by God, Fit for High Positions': On the Political Role of Women in al-Andalus. In: *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 30, Nº. 2, pp. 183-209. Citation on p. 197

[178] **VIGUERA MOLÍNS, María Jesús** (2002) *A Borrowed Space: Andalusi and Maghribi Women in Chronicles.* In: Writing the Feminine. Women in Arab Sources. I.B. Tauris Publishers. London, New York, pp. 165-180. Citation on p. 167 and 171

constructed by Berbers in the 12th century, but Meulemeester had doubts and anticipated an even earlier period[179]. Therefore for the sake of caution I think that the origin of the granary is from the 11th century. Consequently I think that it is reasonable to believe that the first Berbers could have been in the garya Darrax from the 11th century, thus at the time of the Almoravids.

But supposing that this was the case, there is still the question of how the Almoravids settled in Darrax. Did the Almoravid soldiers and officials of the State living in Negra (Blanca) settle there? Did their families come to Darrax or did they marry slaves or Christian women? Although I searched for documents or studies referring to this state for many hours, I did not go any further, because there is nothing at all, nor any documents on this topic in other villages. However, we suppose that the Almoravid leaders married the daughters of important local leaders in the Ricote Valley.

3.4. Hypothesis

Seeing that the granary of Darrax is something unique in the Ricote Valley and that we do not see others in this valley it is clear that the new settlers were quite different from the other inhabitants of the valley and may have felt threatened by them. To avoid any possible problems they decided to construct the granary. One thing is clear; seeing that the granary was destined for many families we suppose that the family ties were very strong in those years:

> The irrigated agriculture, once installed, shows us the conditions of the society in which it arose and which maintained it. The basic structures let us know that family ties were very strong. They were based on endogamy and rigorous agnatism. The development of this type of family was in relation to settlements, in fact establishments of groups united by the kinship that are organized and reinforced by the irrigated agriculture. The clearest reflection is the farmhouse (*qarya*). It orders the territorial space according to the social

179 **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1990) *Archeologie in Moors Spanje.* In: Vlaanderen. Jaargang 39, pp. 242-243

reality that has given it the light. The hamlet is scattered from agreement with the families that make up the settlement[180].

Consequently it is reasonable to hypothesise that the granary of Darrax had to do with the new Almoravids government settled in Murcia from 1091. The conquest was followed by religious intolerance that led to massive exodus of the Mozarabs (Christians under the Islamic administration) to Castile and Aragon. Darrax would become a control centre in the hands of Almoravids authorities to control the Muslims in the Ricote Valley and guarantee the necessary tax for the government in Murcia. A tower was build near the place where we now find the castle of Blanca to control the roads of the Ricote Valley. Thus it was possible to control any caravans of Muslims who tried to use the roads to escape the tax point at Puerto de la Losilla.

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[180] **MALPICA CUELLO, Antonio & TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, Carmen** (2002) *La hidráulica rural nazarí: análisis de una agricultura de origen andalusi*. Universidad de Granada: Athos-Pérgamos, pp. 221-261

3.5. Ending

To the Almoravids Muslim Spain had lost its religious commitment; to the Andalusis their austere conquerors were little more than uncouth, desert barbarians. Almoravid leadership became ineffective as the elite gave itself up to the pleasure loving life of al-Andalus. As a result of that more taxes were needed, to which the al-Andalus did not agree:

> At first the amounts of individual imposts and assessments are increased; then, as expenses and needs increase under the influence of the gradual growth of luxury customs and additional allowances for the militia, the dynasty is affected by senility…the revenue from taxes decreases, while the habits (requiring money) increase. As they increase, salaries and allowances to the soldiers also increase. Therefore the ruler must invent new kinds of taxes. He levies them on commerce. He imposes taxes of a certain amount on prices realized in the markets and on the various (imported) goods at the city gates…In the (later) years of a dynasty, (taxation) may become excessive…Business falls off, because all hopes (of profit) are destroyed, permitting the dissolution of civilization…This (situation) becomes more and more aggravated, until the dynasty disintegrates[181].

[181] **IBN KHALDUN** (2005) *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History*, translated and edited by Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, III 37, p. 232. Cited by **GARRISON, Douglas** (2012) Ibn Khaldun and the Modern Social Sciences: A Comparative Theoretical Inquiry into Society, the State, and Revolution. A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Josef Korbel School of International Studies. University of Denver, p. 252

4. THE ALMOHADS IN TUDMIR

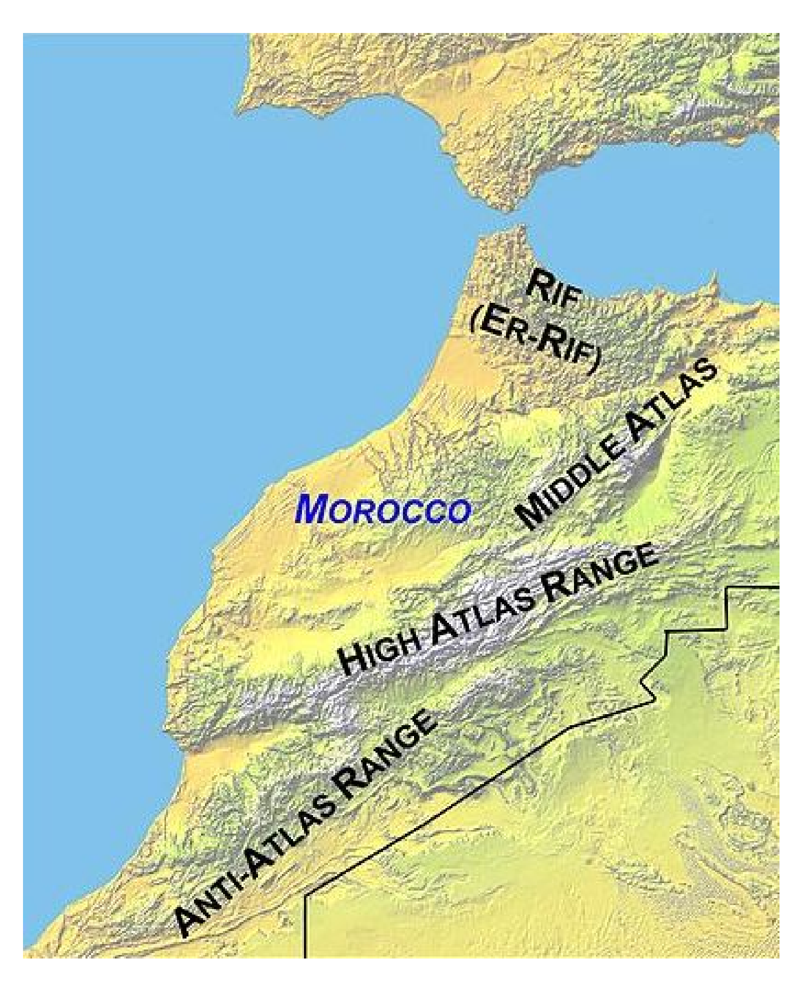
4.1. The Almohad movement

Criticism animated the Almohad (Unitarian) movement to supplant the Almoravids. It arose not among nomads, but among their long-standing enemies, the Berber agriculturalists of the Atlas Mountains. Its leader Muhammad Ibn Tumart, born there in about 1080 and educated in Baghdad, learned to criticize the Almoravids' legalistic rigour and admit the personal spirituality then entering Islam through the mystics known as Sufis. Ibn Tumart was a member of the Hargha, a Berber tribe of the Anti-Atlas range. Returning to his mountain home, he was declared Mahdi by his fellow Masmuda tribesmen. He then led a religious movement with the support of a group of Berber tribes from the High Atlas of Morocco (mainly Masmuda), organizing the overthrow of the Almoravids.

Ibn Tumart preached around 1120 among the Hargha and Hintata in the western part of the High Atlas Mountains. The shaykhs of six principal Masmuda tribes adhered to the Almohad rebellion: Ibn Tumart's own Hargha tribe (from the Anti-Atlas) and the Ganfisa, the Gadmiwa, the Hintata, the Haskura, and the Hazraja (roughly from west to east along the High Atlas range)[182]. These Berber tribes were the first in converting to Almohadism and came to Spain during the Almohad domination.

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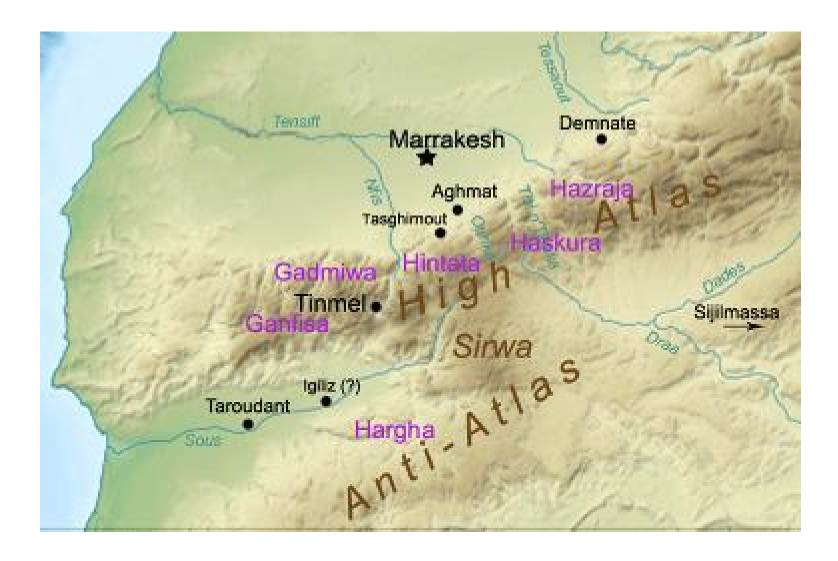
[182] **JULIEN, Charles-André** (1931) *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, des origines à 1830*, 1961 ed., Paris: Payot, p. 99



Map showing the location of the Atlas Mountains across Morocco

The anonymous author of the book "Mafakhir al-Barbar" (roughly translates as: *The Prides of the Berbers*) wrote the greater glory of the

Berbers of Morocco and Al-Andalus. He cited the subtribes of the Masmuda as follows[183]:



Approximate locations of the main Masmuda tribes that adhered to the Almohads. (CC BY-SA 3.0 - Walrasiad)

- Hhaha
- Regraga
- Ourika
- Hezmira
- Guedmiwa (or Gadmiwa)
- Henfisa (or Ganfisa)
- Hezerga
- Doukkala

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183 **UNKNOWN AUTHOR** (1312) Publised by Abdelkader Bubaya, *Hassan II university of Casablanca.* pp. 77 and 172. (The manuscript is in the General Library of Rabat). See also:
GODARD, M. León (1860) *Description et Histoire du Maroc*. Paris: CH. Tanera, Éditeur, pp. 268-270

- Hentata (or Hintata)
- Beni Magus
- Tehlawa

The Masmuda occupied large parts of Morocco, were largely sedentary, and practised agriculture. The residence of the Masmuda aristocracy was Aghmat in the High Atlas. From the 10th century the Berber tribes of the Sanhaja and Zanata groups invaded the lands of the Masmuda, followed from the 12th century onwards by Arab Bedouins.

The Arabist Victoria Aguilar Sebastián gives us a better definition of the beginning of the Almohad movement[184]:

> La estructura de la primitiva sociedad almohade respondía a un movimiento religioso tribal beréber en el que las primeras tribus adheridas al tawhïd gozaban de un lugar preeminente. El Mahdï de los Almohades organizó una división en categorías (*asnáf o tabaqát*), cuya correspondencia sería la siguiente: los Diez (*ahl al-yamä'a*), los Cincuenta, los Setenta, *Talaba, Huffaz*, a los que se añadían las cinco tribus almohades más importantes, Harga, "Tinmal, Gadmïwa, Ganfisa y Hintäta, seguidos de las tribus (*al-qabä'i1*), el ejército regular (*yund*), los combatientes (*guzä'*) y los arqueros (*rumä'*). Uno de los eslabones de esta estructura la constituía el ejercito *yund* o *yays'*), a cuyo primitivo núcleo almohade se le fueron añadiendo otros grupos: *guzz*, andalusies y árabes.
>
> Loose translation:
>
> The structure of the primitive Almohad society responded to a Berber tribal religious movement in which the first tribes adhered to the tawhïd enjoyed a preeminent place. The Mahdï of the Almohades organized a division into categories (*asnáf or tabaqát*), whose correspondence would be as follows: the Ten (*ahl al-yamä'a*), the Fifty, the Seventy, *Talaba, Huffaz*, to which were added five the most important Almohad tribes, *Harga, "Tinmal, Gadmïwa, Ganfisa,* and *Hintäta,* followed by the tribes (al-*qabä'i1*), the regular army (*yund*), the fighters (*guzä'*) and the archers (*rumä'*). of the links of this

[184] **AGUILAR SEBASTIÁN, Victoria** (1993) *Aportación de los árabes nómadas a la organización ilitar del ejército almohade*. In: Al-Qantara, Vol. XIV, Fasc. 2, pp. 393-415. Citation on p. 395

> structure constituted the *yund* or *yays'* army), to whose primitive Almohad nucleus were added other groups: *guzz, andalusies,* and *arabs*.

However, it is still not clear whether here the seventy had a real significance, as Hopkins[185] warns:

> **The 'Seven' and the 'Seventy'**
> Ibn al-Qattan, as usual on the authority of Ibn Sahib al-Salat, also mentions a group of 'Seven' : 'He enumerates the "Seven" whom he says are his advisers (*ahl mashwaratihi*); perhaps they are chosen from the Ahl Khamsin'. Their names are given, but nothing is known of them. As for the 'Seventy', Ibn al-Athir has a bare reference, and Ibn al-Qattan is dubious about their existence: 'As for what Al-Yasa' says about the "Seventy", I have no knowledge of it, and I do not think that it is correct; I only know of the "Ten" -the *Jama'a* -the *Ahl al-Khamsin*, and the "Seven", who are his advisers ...' The *Hulal* has the same passage, almost verbatim.

The Haskura Berbers experienced several years of hostilities with the Almoravids and Almohad powers[186].
In this respect Hopkins let us know that Sanhaja and Haskura are likewise only included by the *K. al-ansab*; indeed Ibn Khaldun[187] states plainly when talking of Haskura that: 'Many people do not count them among the Almohads, and even if they are so counted they are not of the ahl al-sabiqa because at the beginning they resisted the Mahdi.

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[185] **HOPKINS, J.F.P.** (1954) *The Almohad Hierarchy*. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 16. Nº. 1, pp. 93-112. Citation on pp. 97-98
[186] **HUICI, Miranda** (1956) *Historia Política del Imperio Almohade.* Tetuán.Editora Marroquí, p. 76
[187] **IBN KHALDIN** (1925) *Histoire des Berberes*, tr. de Slane. Reprinted, Paris, p. 118. Cited by **HOPKINS, J.F.P.** (1954) *The Almohad Hierarchy*. In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 16. Nº. 1, pp. 93-112. Citation on p. 98

The Haskura later integrated the Almohad movement, as revealed by their representation in the Ahl Khamsin and the Almohad military hierarchy[188].

4.2. The Haskura Berbers

When describing the history of Morocco comes to the Berbers, Blichfeldt stated that the rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. There he gives us more details about them and their places in Morocco[189]:

> The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghumara [q.v.] on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawata [q.v.] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebou, the Misnasa, in the central district the Masmuda [q.v.], on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Bebou to the Sus; the Haskura between the Sus and the Dar'a; the Lamta and Lamtuna [q.vv.] on the left bank of the Dar'a. These Berbers were all of Sanhadja stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism but the majority still followed the old natura worship. The Arab conquest brouth them a new religion: Islam.

Here we learn that the Haskura[190] Berbers lived between the Sus and the Dar'a. The word Dar'a is also written as Dra'a. as we will see hereafter.

Cook states in his book that Damnet is a merchant town in Haskura. On the other hand he informs that Haskura that belongs to[191] "the Sus-

[188] **LEVI-PROVENÇAL, Évariste** (1928). *Documents Inèdits d'Histoire Almohade.* Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, pp. 52-53, 67.
[189] **BLICHFELDT, Jan-Olaf** (1985) Early Mahdism: Politics and Religion in the Formative Period of Islam. In: *The Encyclopedia of Islam.* Volume V, Fascicules 97-98. Leiden, p. 1188
[190] Other words are: Hascora, Ascora, Haskowra
[191] **COOK, Weston F.** (1994) *The Hundred Years of War for Morocco: Gunpowder Revolution in the Early Modern Muslim World.* Westview Press, Firearms, pp. 142 and 168

Dra'a región suffered greatly from war and violence but did not lack for a coherent political system. In this region and on the northern frontier with Marrakech formed by Haha and Haskura provinces, the inhabitants practiced their own form of self-government".

An abridged English translation, taken from *Les Almoravides* by Vincent Lagardère[192], also explained where the Haskura tribe was established[193]:

> Having accomplished his mission among the Masmuda, 'Abdullah ibn Yasin returned to Sijilmassa. Abu Bakr ibn 'Umar went out to meet him when he was a day's journey from the city and thanked him for what he had done on his behalf. The reformer told him to get ready to leave for Aghmat. He left some of his men in Sijilmassa with a Lamtuna contingent and set out 17 Rabi' II of the same year, 450/13 June 1058, accompanied by 400 men on horses, 800 on camel and 2000 foot soldiers. He arrived in Aghmat after fourteen days' march, 2 Jumada I/27 June. Several Masmuda chiefs came out to meet him when he was two days away from Aghmat and it seems that they handed over the city to him without a shot being fired. Unable to resist, Laqqut decided to escape by night with his Zanata Maghrawa and took refuge in Tadla, where he asked for the protection of Muhammad ibn Tamim, the Ifrani lord of Salé.
>
> The city of Aghmat, which was abandoned by its former master, was besieged by the Murabitun. In the course of six months, up until the first days of Dhu'l-Qa'da/ 20 December 1058, they were certain of the support of the neighbouring Masmuda tribes and received their delegations which came to offer allegiance to Abu Bakr ibn 'Umar. In Aghmat, there must have been representatives of the Hazraja tribes who occupied the mountains located on the upper stream of the Wadi Urika and were in control at Damnat, as well as those of the Haskura tribes who were established in the territory between Dar'a and Urika, south of the Hazraja, and who occupied the major centre of population of Warzazat, 100 km from Aghmat. These Masmuda tribes guaranteed the Murabitun safe passage on the Aghmat-Sijilmassa route, as well as the west road which led to Dar'a and Tafilalt.

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192 **LAGARDÈRE, Vincent** (1999). *Les Almoravides. Le djihâd andalou (1106-1143).* Paris, L'Harmattan.

193 https://bewley.virtualave.net/tashfincont.html



Situation of Tessawt (Tessaout) in the High Atlas

After the surrender of the Mardanish family of Valencia his old domains were governed by a leading Almohad. According to al-Baydhaq the Arabs and Zanata were settled in Valencia, the Haskura Berbers at Jativa and Murcia, the people of Tinmal at Lorca, and the Kumiya Berbers at Almeria[194]. So far we have not seen these details in the history of Murcia. In order to go further in this matter it is worth knowing who was the writer Al-Bayd[h]aq.

Mohammed abu Bakr ibn Ali al Sanhaji al-Baydaq (died after 1164) was a companion of Ibn Tumart and chronicler of the Almohads. He wrote several books, the one edited by Lévi-Provençal in 1928 and

[194] **AL-BAYDAQ** (1928) *Documents inédits,* Ed. Lévi-Provençal. Paris, p. 215. Cited by **KENNEDY, Hugh N.** (1996). Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Longman, p. 225.

lately another important work edited in 1971[195] from which we could extract some details thanks to the work of Ali Amahan[196]:

> Al-Baydaq (1971: 52, 53) makes a difference between the Haskura from the Levant and the Haskura from the West. Among the latter he counts the Ghoujdama, Oultana and Zemraoua tribes. Al-Baydaq (1971: 38) starts speaking about them in the 12th century and could give exact details about their history and territories, since he had participated in the beginning of the movement of the Almohad Empire. During the first confrontation between the Almohads and the Haskoura the first ones still did not submit; Nevertheless, the Almohads had a large share of the booty. The second confrontation between the Almohads and the Haskoura took place at Aman Melloulnin in 543 H/ 1148-49, where, according to al-Baydaq (1971:38), the defeat of the Haskoura was almost complete and this was the beginning [in that year] of the submission of the Haskoura to the Almohads. The chroniclers also mention the installation by the Almohads of a [Haskura] contingent to Murcia in Andalusian (1971:89) in 565 H/1169-1170.

The Haskura Berber tribe settled in the high valley of Tansift and the Wadi al-‘Abid on the two slopes of the mountain range that links the Great Atlas - the home of the Masmuda, - with the Central Atlas - the home of the Sanhaja of Tadla. The tribe of Haskura occupied a strategic position on the trade route that linked Fez, Sijilmass, and Sus[197]. However, when we take into account the situation of the Haskura tribe between the 7th and the 11th century, we’ll see that they seem to have lived in the High Atlas[198].

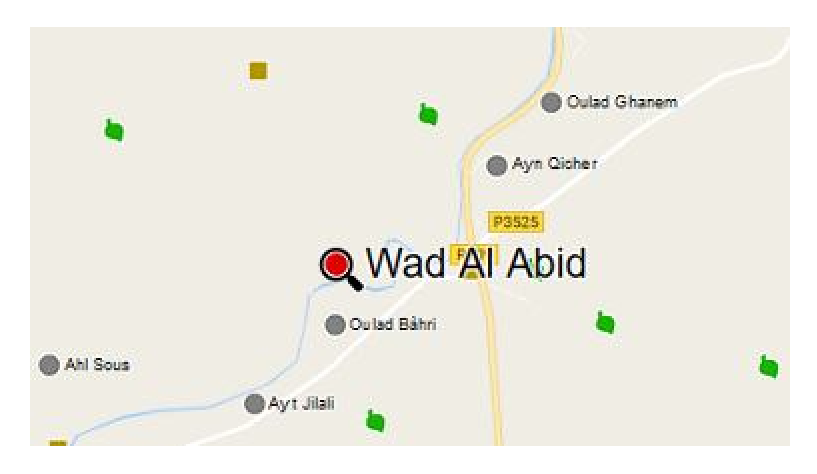
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[195] **AL-BAYDAQ** (1971). Akhbār al-Mahdī Ibn Tūmart wa-bidāyat dawlat al-Muwaḥḥidīn (or. text in Arabic) ed. Al-Ribā.

[196] **ALI AMAHAN** (1998). Mutations sociales dans le Haut Atlas: Les Ghoujdama. Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme. Paris, pp. 20-21.

[197] **POWERS, David S.** (2002). Law, Society and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300-1500. Cambridge University Press. New York, p. 54.

[198] **ELFASI, M.** (1995). General Historia of Africa. III. Afrika from the seventh to the Eleventh Century. University of California Press, Berkely, p. 228.



L'Oued el Abid or Wadi al-Abid near the river Tensift

We observe the word Heskoura in the French book of Ibn Khaldun and the name of Beni Khattab[199] who belonged to an important family from the Haskura tribe. Ibn Khaldun give us detailed information about the Heskura tribe. As of the 16th century the province of Haskura is called Damnat, but did not belong to the Haskura tribe in the 13th century. It is interesting to see that the name of Ibn Khattab was known in Murcia between the 10th and 13th century[200], but they have probably nothing to do with each other.

Bazzana and Meulemeester[201] also studied the river Tensift in central Morocco. It springs in the eastern High Atlas, north of the Tizi-n-Tichka pass. It passes nearby the city of Marrakesh and pours into the

[199] **IBN KHALDOUN** (1854). Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale. Volume II. Alger, pp. 118-121.

[200] **AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD MAQQARI** (1843) *The History of the Mohamedan Dynasties in Spain*. (Translated by Pascual de Gayangos). Volume II, p. LXXVIII

DOZY, REINHART (1861) *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne: jusqu'àla conquête de l'Andalousie para les Almoravides (711-1110)*. Volume 2, p. 118

[201] **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2009) *La noria, l'aubergine et le fellah. Archéologie des espaces irrigués dans l'occident musulman médiéval (9e-15e siècles)*. Ghent University, p. 348

Atlantic Ocean at the ancient fortress of Souira Qedima, around 40km south of Safi. Its water flow changes according to rainfall; it is one of ten major rivers in Morocco. Both authors compare the irrigation in Valencia and Murcia to that in the High Atlas.

The Haskura tribe of the north seemed to have occupied the territory of the valleys of the Tessawt and the "l'Oued el Abid, also written as Wadi al-Abid. The position of the Haskura tribe of the south is uncertain, but logically speaking it could have been the corresponding southern territory to the eastern affluents of the Wadi Draa, thus to Warzazat (and to the territories of the Wawzguit)[202].
In the book written by Leo Africanus[203] we also detected various cities relating to the Haskura (Hascora):

A description of the region of Hascora
This region is bounded northward with certain mountains which adjoin Dukkala; westward by a river running by the foot of Mount Hadimmei which we called Tensift, and eastward by the river Quadelhabid, the river of servants which divided Hascora and Tedles. The hills of Dukkala also separate Hascora from the Ocean sea. The inhabitants of this region are far more civil than the people of Dukkala. This province yielded great abundance of oil, Moroccan skins, and goats, from whose hair they make cloth and saddles. And hither do all the bordering regions bring their goat skins, whereof the Moroccan or Cordovan leather is made. This people had great trade with the Portugals, with whom they exchanged the leather and saddles for cloth. Their coin is all one with the coin of Dukkala. Also the Arabians

[202] **LAZAREV, Grigori** (2011) *Contribution à la géographie mediévale des populations berbères du Haut Atlas marocain*. In: L. Serra, A.M. di Tolla, M. Ghaki, A. Habouss (a cura di), *Pluralità e dinamismo culturale nella società berbere attuali*. In: *Quaderni di Studi Berberi e Libico-Berberi* 1, Napoli, Università degli studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale': 349-365
[203] **AFRICANUS, Leo** (1896) *The History and Description of Africa*, pp. 298-304

usually buy oil and other necessaries from this region. Now let us in order describe al the towns and cities of this region.

Thereafter the writer gives a full description of the following towns in Hascora:

Of Elmadin a towne in Hascora.
Of the citie of Alemdin.
Of Tagodast a towne in Hascora.
Of the citie of Elgiumuha.
Of Bzo a towne in Hascora.

Tagodast
Tagodast is another equally large and rich city of the province of Haskora crowning the heights of a lofty mountain surrounded by four other mountains, but near a plain of six miles in extent covered with rich vegetation producing an immense quantity of Argan oil and the finest fruits. This place contains about 7,000 inhabitants, who are a noble and hospitable race. Besides Argan oil Tagodast is celebrated for its red grapes, which are said to be as large as hen's eggs. The honey of Tagodast is the finest in Africa. The inhabitants trade mostly with the south.

Région de Hascora: El Madina, ville du Hascora — Alemdin, ville de la même province. — Tagodast, ville du Hascora — El Giumuha — Bzo, ville du Hascora — Tenueues, montagne — Tensita, montagne. — Gogideme, montagne — Teseuon.

There seems to be a relationship between the High Atlas of Maroc and the *Cabezo de Cobertera* in the territory of Darrax (Blanca, Murcia)[204].

4.1. The providential personages

Later in this book we will observe that the prophets had announced the appearance of Ibn Hud who presented himself as a providential personage. Also king Peter I the Cruel needed an astrologer to predict the future before attacking the enemy. We observe something similar in the birth of Abd al-Mu'min - the new ruler of the Almohads:

> The relationship between enlightenment and guide becomes even clearer in Ibn Tumart's successor 'Abd al-Mu'min, "lamp of the Almohads", the chosen disciple of the Mahdi and his sole heir, despite the fact that he was not a member of Ibn Tumart's family or even of the Masmuda tribe. Brett interprets al-Baydhaq's frequently-cited account as devoted to showing that 'Abd al-Mu'min was the sole designated heir. To this end he casts himself as witness and agent of the critical moment of the designation, as Salman Pak or al-Farisi in shi'ite legend. Al-Baydhaq wrote a long description of how Ibn Tumart distinguished 'Abd al-Mu'min in a mosque one night and asked him to stay with him. He then asked al-Baydhaq to bring him the book with the red covers and announced to 'Abd al-Mu'min that he would be the one who would give life to religion and the "Lamp of the Almohads", *siraj al-muwahhidin.* According to Ibn Khallikan, this book with the red covers was *al-Jafr min 'ulum Ahl al-Bayt*, which predicted that after the year 500H a man from the family of the Prophet would call the people to follow the original message of Islam and that he would be buried in a place with the letters TINML. This person would be *al-Qa'im bi-Awwal al-Amr* and his suecessor would have in his name the letters 'BD MUMN. On hearing Ibn Tumart's words, 'Abd al-Mu'rnin broke into tears and said, "I am not in any way prepared for this role, I am a man who wishes to cleanse himself of his sins"

[204] **MIGNOT, Philippe; MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de; DAPPER, Morgan de; BOUSSALH, Mohamed; JLOK, Mustapha** (2007) *Medieval Rural Settlement in the Spanish Murcia and Present-day Rural Settlement in the Moroccan Atlas.* In: *European landscapes and lifestyles: The Mediterranean and beyond,* Ediçoes Universitarias Lusofonas, Lisboa, pp. 131-145. Citation on p.132

at which the Sinless One said, “The cleansing of your sins will be to save the world (salah al- dunya)[205].

‘Abd al-Mu’rnin (1094-1163) as a leader of the Almohad Movement (since 1130) he became the first Caliph of the Almohad Empire (reigned 1147–63). Having put his predecessor's doctrinal blend of Zahirite jurisprudence and Ash'arite dogmatics into practice, Abd al-Mu'min's rule was the first to unite the whole coast from Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean along with Spain under one creed and one government. Between 1130 and his death in 1163 Abd al-Mu'min not only defeated the Almoravids, but extended his power over entire northern Africa as far as Egypt, becoming Caliph of the Almohad Empire in 1147.

4.2. Governors of the castles

The Almohads had control of southwestern Andalus by 1148, but were not able to gain control of eastern Andalus until 1172 due to the opposition of some Muslim leaders, such as Ibn Mardanish in Murcia. Everything changed in 1172 when the Almohad troops and the Caliph Abu Ya’qub Yusuf, son of ‘Abd al-Mu’min, arrived in Murcia. During the whole month of the stay of the Almohad Caliph in Murcia Ibn Sahib As-Sala let us know the Caliph’s essential worry about the restructuring of all the defensive spaces. Yusuf took care to secure the fortress and send governors to the castles. The new governors were educated and instructed in the new defensive systems, because the Almohad Caliph met with the governors of his frontier castles in order to plan a restructuring of the defensive systems. He wanted to know the general condition of the castles of the borders, adapt them to a new conception of the defenses, and order the necessary reconditions and building of new castles[206]. It was probably at this time that the

[205] **GARCÍA-ARENAL, Mercedes** (2006). Messianism and puritanical reform. Mahdis of the Muslim West. Brill, Leiden-Boston, p. 184.

[206] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (1997) La frontera alternativa: vías y enfrentamientos islamo-cristianos en la mancha oriental y en Murcia. In: Actas del Congreso la frontera oriental nazarí como sujeto histórico (s. XIII-XVI). Lorca-Vera,

Almohads began to construct the castle of Negra (Blanca), because the old tower was no longer suitable in the new defense system.



An ancient tower nearby the castle of Blanca
Photo: © Kindness of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno

On the other hand the Almohads needed an independent castle to control the population of the Ricote Valley, thus it is reasonable to suspect that they did not consider the castle of Ricote suitable for their causes.

However, this way of separation only could have had value for one generation:

22-24 de noviembre de 1994. Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Diputación de Almería, pp 237-251. Citation on pp. 244-245

> Dynasties originate among virtuous tribes with enduring discipline. The first generation of rulers is successful because of their immediate connection to the glory and honour of the tribe[207].

It is quite possible that life was initially hard for the Ricote population due to the requirements of the new government. The number of Berber conquerors who entered Islamic Spain was relatively low. The Almohads were too small in number to have great influence on the local population and the Hispanic society. Their influence became weaker in the forthcoming years as most of them had to adopt the rules of the Ricote Valley when they married women of the local population. Once they became assimilated in the Ricote Valley society the power of the Almohads as occupying government decreased due to the most distinctive character enjoyed by the women of the local population and their strong influence on their husbands from behind the veil[208].

The Almoravid as well as the Almohad dynasties were highly intolerant of the diversity of religious practice, even among Muslims[209]. On the other hand Andalusian Muslims tended to see the Almohads as outsiders, and this impression was reinforced by the widespread hostility in Spain to newly arrived Berbers[210]. The Andalusian Muslims disliked the foreign Berber warlords who regularly moved through their territories.

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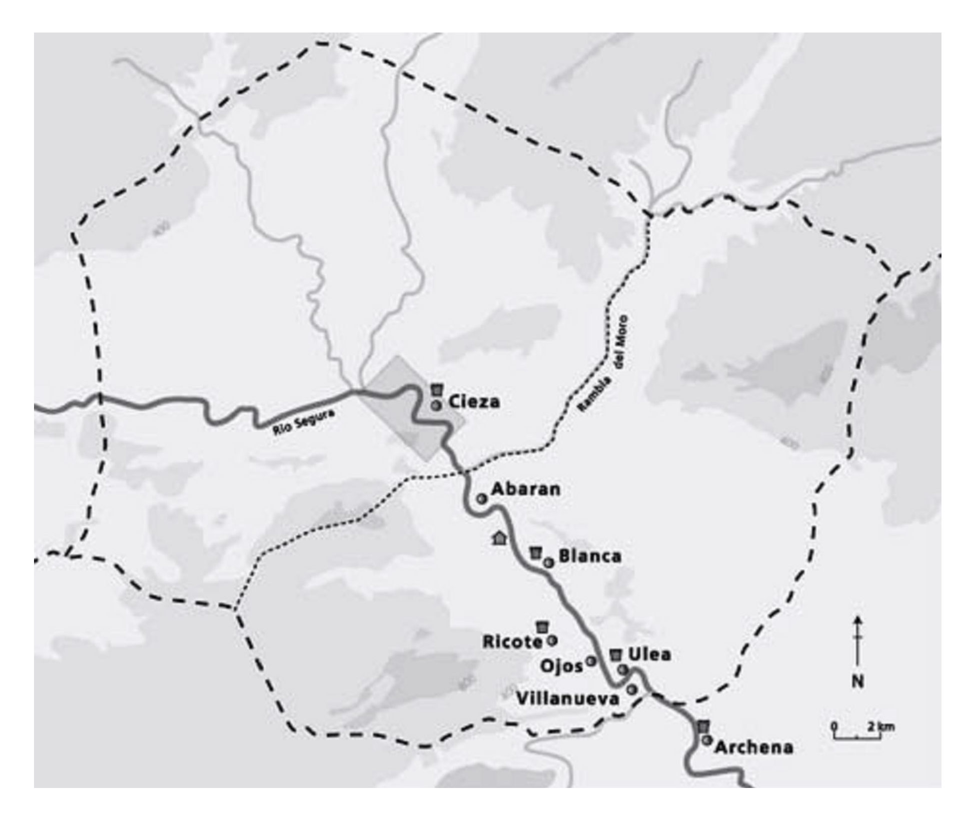
207 **FROMHERZ, Allen James** (2010) Ibn Khaldun, Life and Times. Edinburgh University Press, p. 136

208 **MOURTADA-SABBAH, Nada & GULLY, Adrian** (2003) ‘I Am, by God, Fit for High Positions’: On the Political Role of Women in al-Andalus. In: *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* Vol. 30, Nº. 2, pp. 183-209. Citation on p. 201

209 **HAYWOOD, Louise M.** (2014) *Medieval Spanish Studies.* In: The Companion to Hispanic Studies. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. London and New York, p. 45

210 **BRETT, Michael** (1999) *The Nasrid kingdom of Granada.* In: The new Cambridge Medieval History, V, c. 1198- c.1300. Cambridge University Press, pp. 636-632. Citation on p. 636

The question here is whether the Almohads let the population of the Ricote Valley live quietly or whether they started to interfere with their customs. The fanaticism of the Almohads was known and based on the fact that their movement emphasized religious reform with the goal of achieving religious purity among its followers. In that sense, beginning with Ibn Tumart, the Almohads opposed practices such as drinking wine and music.



Map of the Ricote Valley

The Almohads used the Arabic language for political and cultural matters, but for the propagation of their doctrine they also employed the Berber language.

Knowledge of the Berber language was imperative to hold the office of ja.tīb in the mosques of the city of Fez[211]. Consequently it is logical to suppose that similar facts were the case in the initial phase of the Almohads' predominance.

However, the question here is whether the benefits of the Almohad regime were greater than its disadvantages.
We must remember that the Almohads built many castles and rebuilt old defenses, using a new building technique. They brought economic prosperity and cultural achievements to Spain[212].

It is not clear whether the castle of Negra (Blanca) had a granary as did the castle of Ricote[213]:

> Tyene esta fortaleza buen encazamiento y ay en el buenas bodegas y graneros y tres molinos de mano y todo cubyerto de madera y terrados. Tyene esta fortaleza vna puerta falsa a la parte del canpo y cabolla está vn algibe de buen agua, fecho de boveda.

Ibn Abi Zar presents a very obscure picture of the domination of the Almohads in the Peninsula by pointing out that "the Almohad kings lost all their authority over the countryside, retaining their power only in the cities[214]."

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211 See al-Jizna'i. ì*an's al-as fī bina' madinat Fas*. Ed. 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Man**.** sur. Rabat: al-Ma.tba'a al-Malakiyya, 20082, p. 56. A. Khaneboubi. *Les institutions gouvernamentales sous les mérinides (1258-1465*. París: L'Harmatan, 2008, p. 233 affirms that under the Almohads the ju.tba was done in the Berber language. Cited by **RACHID EL HOUR** (2015) Reflexiones acerca de las dinastías bereberes y lengua bereber en el Magreb Medieval. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* (MEAH), Sección Árabe-Islam, 64, pp. 45-57. Citation on p. 51-52

212 **GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Ángel** (1974) *La época medieval*. Madrid, Alianza Editorial, pp. 94, 125, and 126

213 **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1965) *Los castillos santiaguistas del Reino de Murcia en el s. XV*. Anales de la Universidad de Murcia. Vol. XXIV, Nº 34, Murcia. p. 497-499

214 **HUICI MIRANDA, A.** (1964) Ibn Abi Zar. Rawd al-Quirtas. In: Textos Medievales, 13, 2 vols. Valencia, vol. II, p. 549. Cited by **RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ,**

This means that by then the Almohads lost their control in the countryside and the Ricote Valley became an ideal place for the insurrection of Ibn Hud.

4.3. Food for the army

Under the Almohads, known as the *Muwahhids*, the financial administration became much better organized. They had the *kharaj* or land tax and the *zakat* that was a tax on movable goods. They also had sales taxes and customs duties.

The Almohad movement was unquestionably inspired to abandon the illegal taxation, but its consolidation as a state led it to gradually fall into the same "vices" they had originally condemned. So this could imply that the Customs of the Ruelda (Ruebda) de la Losilla again became very active after the Almoravid occupation and that in this epoch the community granary in the *Cabezo de Cobertera* was built as a Municipal treasure. Survival depended on sharing the wealth and labour for the benefit of the community. The Berbers that occupied the territory of Darrax paid their taxes in kind. This was natural in primitive agricultural communities where coins did not abound. The granary had the following advantages:

- Military war expeditions did not have to go far off their route when they required supplies from the state granary.

- Part of the cereals in the granary could have been destined for high-ranking officials and armies on their travels.

Ana (1994) *La consolidación territorial de la Monarquía Feudal Castellana. Consejo superior de Investigaciones Científicas*. Madrid, p. 115

- To pay the troops stationed in the fortress of Negra (Blanca) in kind

- Ruinous harvests, the grain in the granary was a guarantee that it might be sown again the following year

- The granary very near to the river was the ideal place for the water and cereals supply to the army and animals

- In case of general drought the population managed to survive thanks to the grain from the state and community granaries[215].

There is enough reason to believe that the granary of Negra (Blanca) could for some time have been a state or community granary to store part of its cereals in the form of tax for the state[216]. As can be read in the *risala fi awqat al-sana* probably from the 13th century, it was necessary to give the surveillance of the granaries to people directly linked to state institutes[217].

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215 **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2008) *The Andalusian Economy in the Times of Almanzor*. In: Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum, II, pp. 83-112

216 **ADAM, A.** (1950) *La Maison et le Village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*. In: *Hespéris, tome XXXVII,* pp. 289-362. Citation on p. 328

217 Risala fi awqat al-sana. (1990) *Un calendario andalusí anónimo*. Traducción y edición: **María de los Ángeles Navarro García,** Granada, pp. 94 & 239. *Apud* **MEOUAK, Mohamed** (2001) Graneros y silos en las fuentes árabes del occidente islámico medieval. Anaquel de Estudios Árabes 12, pp. 443-447. Citation on p. 444



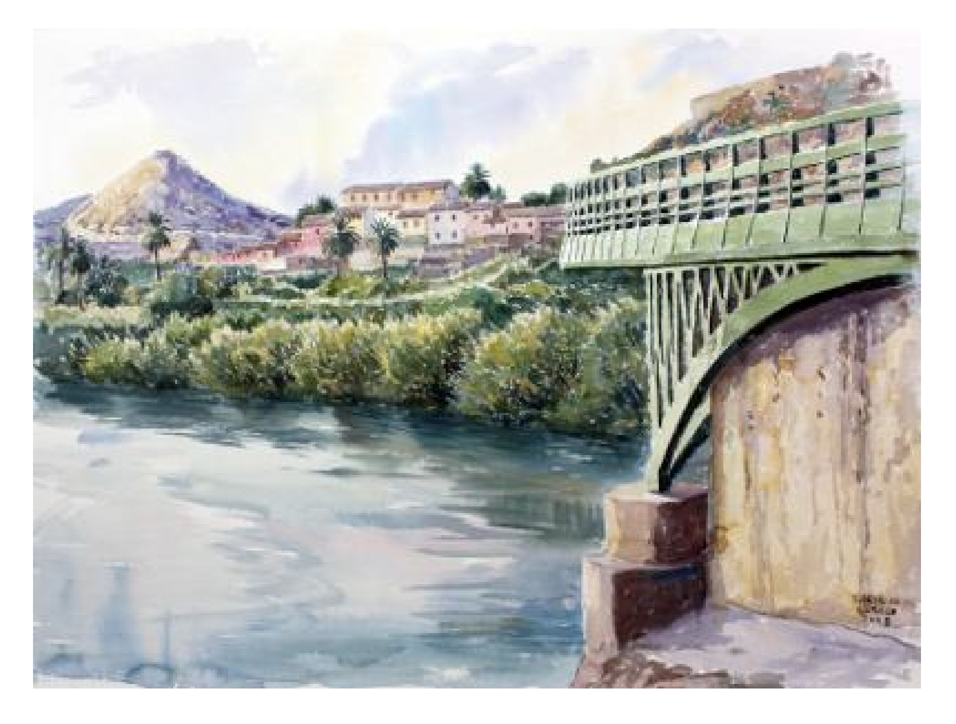
Las Excanales in Blanca (Piedra de la Barca)
Photo: © Govert Westerveld

Consequently the new castle of Negra (Blanca) could not have been built only as a defensive system for the Almohads against the Nazari Kingdom of Granada and the Castilian and Aragonese troops. Contrarily the castle with Almohad soldiers served to be sure that taxes would by paid by the local population of the Ricote Valley. The castle was self-sufficient, because the granary in Darrax guaranteed food for the army. The location of the granary in the *Cabezo de Cobertera* was almost in front of the castle of Negra (Blanca). The communication of the castle with the zone of Darrax was through a pont located in *Las Excanales* that is known today as *Piedra de la Barca.*

The importance of the fortified granaries which are today defended by Salima Naji has landed her the place of a finalist for the prestigious

Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The information gathered by Meghan Maupin[218] could help us to better understand the way of living in the granary of *Cabezo de Cobertera.*

> Over the past decade, architect and anthropologist Salima Naji has worked to save the heritage of several oasis towns in the anti-Atlas mountains of Morocco. The Southern Moroccan landscape is dotted with fortified citadels and granaries that were built by the indigenous Berber tribes. These impressive structures hold significant spiritual value and are defining landmarks of the region's cultural inheritance and religious history. The fortresses served as both symbols of freedom and holy sites for the Berber people, which continued even after the tribe's conversion to Islam.



Las Excanales in Blanca; at the back *El Cabezo de Cobertera*
(Painting: with the kind permission of © Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

[218] http://inhabitat.com/salima-najis-preservation-of-sacred-moroccan-granary-sites-nominated-for-aga-khan-award/ (5-8-2013)

Serving the Moroccan Ministry of the Interior, Salima Naji has ambitiously untaken the restoration of two Agadir of Amtoudi, the rehabilitation of Qsar Assa, and the rescue of collective parts of Agadir Ouzrou. This network of fortressed granary sites in Southern Morocco has fallen into decay with the decline of traditional Berber architecture. The spread of modern standardized architecture from the north has made vernacular building methods obsolete, discarding the religious inheritance and communal identity of the region. In a participatory process that is reinvigorating the sacred and collective oasis sites, Naji's work provides an alternative model for conservation in Morocco.

Through the use of local masons and unskilled workman whom she has trained, Naji fosters a relationship between the community and the historic built environment. Her projects extend beyond simple restoration to include the creation of new, communal spaces such as village squares, public walkways, and outdoor theatres. The revived fortified granaries transform into venues for poetry contests, feasts, and traditional Berber song and dance performances. The inclusion of both new and traditional community groups in the process of conservation gives a modern cultural relevancy to the formerly abandoned sites. Salima Naji teaches us that the act of conserving architecture and civic space on the basis of heritage preservation is sustainability at its best.

4.4. Women and the Almohads

Little is known about the wives of the Almohads and the women who lived with the Almohads due to lack of documentation. We know that the Almohads' governors placed their Berber soldiers and other administrative staff in the various castles in Murcia to control the area after having settled in the town Murcia. Most of them began new lives and married the daughters of influential personages in the town. But how did they get their wives in the Ricote Valle? An intermixture with the former Muslim people in the Ricote Valley was far from easy. The Berbers had their own language and not all of them spoke Arabic. It is clear that we have to study the habits of the Almohads to answer this question. Here they also probably married the daughters of influential personages in the Ricote Valley and tried to have local cadis in their favour to dominate the population in this sense.

When the Almohad forces conquered a city, most of its inhabitants were put to the sword while children and womenfolk were taken as captives. When the Almohads raided large cities, they had the habit of returning to their home base with the booty, including many women. Children and women were sold into slavery. The thirteenth-century jurist al-Saqati described the merits and traditional attributes of various female slaves in al-Andalus: Berbers were voluptuous; Turks would bear valiant sons; Christians were careful with money and housekeeping; Africans made excellent wet-nurses, and so forth[219]. Al-Baydhaq gives us more information about the female captives of Abd al-Mu'min:

> The Caliph distributed the booty. We had taken one hundred virgins (*bikr*) who were safe with us. The Caliph distributed them amongst the Almohads, who married them (*tazawwajuhunna*). Only Fatima, daughter of Yusuf, the Zanata woman, and the daughter of Maksan ibn al-Mu'izz, lord of Melilla were left. The Caliph cast lots for Fatima with Abu Ibrahim and Abu Ibrahim won her. The Caliph took (*akhadha*) the daughter of Maksan ibn al-Mu'izz, the mother of the princes Ibrahim and Ismail[220].

The willingness of the Almohads to marry them had to do with the fact that the women in question were virgins, or girls who were never married. There was a big surplus of women in the Almohad Empire. After defeating the Dukkala Ibn al-Athir mentions that there were so many Dukkala women for sale that pretty girls were sold for a few dirhams[221].

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[219] **CONSTABLE, Olivia Remie** (1996) *Muslim Spain and Mediterranean slavery: The Medieval Slave Trade as an Aspect of Muslim-Christian Relations.* In: *In Christendom and its discontents. Exclusion, persecution, and rebellion, 1000-1500.* Cambridge University Press, pp. 264-284. Citation on p. 269

[220] **EMPEY, Heather J.** (2017). The Mothers of the Caliph's Sons: Women as Spoils of War during the Early Almohad Period. In: Concubines and Courtesans. Women and Slavery in Islamic History. Oxford University Press, p. 148.

[221] **RICHARDS, D.S.** (2006) Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from *al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh*. Ashgate Publishing Company, Vermont, USA, p. 226

In 1150 many Christians and Mozarabas that had served the Almoravids returned to Spain and to their families. In those years the Almohads persecuted the Christians, Mozarabs, and Jews and obliged them to accept Islam. The Almohads killed many Mozarbs and Jews, seizing their houses, properties, and women. We observe that in 1170 many Christians were deported to Morocco by the Almohads[222]. Consequently there was a fluid exchange of people between Morocco and al-Andalus. If there was a shortage of Berber women in al-Andalus, this could have been resolved with the big surplus of women in Morocco by means of slave trade to al-Andalus.

4.5. Moroccan Women in Spain: Honor and Marriage

A woman's honour (ird) or purity was most important for the community. She could marry only one man, but her spouse was allowed to have several wives or concubines. Berber women commanded great respect from men as the responsibility for the children fell squarely on their shoulders.

The wives of the Almohads who lived in the rural village of Blanca and the hamlet of Darrax must have had hard working lives taking care of the children, animals, sick family members, and the elderly. They had sheltered lives and were mostly at home, but when leaving their homes they had to be accompanied by another person. That is why we see women together washing clothes in the river.

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222 **SIMONET, Francisco Javier**. (1897-1903) Historia de los mozárabes de España. La Real Academia de la Historia, pp. 761 and 770

As for cotton and other cultivations, in springtime women and children weeded young shoots, while the men tended to the heavier duties of creating and maintaining irrigation systems[223].

For the Berbers the tribal life was very important. *Fard* is a word which means that *"the individual is nothing without the tribe".* The nuclear and extended family came first and was most important. Family members could live together, or at least most members stayed close, and the women and children of an extended family worked together in the home. To be alone was thought to be a sad condition. Children were cared for by older children in the extended family. Patriarchy was strong. Men worked outside the home as farmers, merchants in their shops, educators etc. Women and children also worked in the fields, carrying crops home etc. They also made artisanal crafts with palms and reeds and other natural materials. Children had to help their families by doing chores. Some family members moved away to other places to earn money for the family.

During the domination of the Almoravids the men had the face covered by the *litâm* and the women discovered it, a fact that angered Ibn Tümart. Already in the Maghreb, Ibn Tumart's preaching gives rise to actions against merchants and merchants engaged in the marketing of products such as wine and others considered *haram*, as well as putting pressure on women who did not wear *hijabs*. In spite of this intolerance the deeper understanding of the Almohads for a vital religion favoured greater freedom of science and spiritual development in the Ricote Valley, as witnessed by the Sufí Ibn Sab'in and Ibn Riqut.

The frivolous themes of courtly love were normal at the time of Ibn Mardanish. However, these themes disappeared from the panegyric dedicated to the puritanical Berber dynasty[224].

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[223] **GUTHRIE, Shirley** (2001) *Arab Women in the Middle Ages: Private Lives and Public Roles*. London: Saqi Books

4.6. The Order of Santiago

The term "Almoravid" is derived from the Arabic *al-Murabitun*, meaning "the inhabitants of the ribat", a fortress of warriors consecrated to the "holy war". This increase in religious fervour from the Islamic side could not be without consequences from the Christen side and so we see the Christen Military Orders. One of them was the Order of Santiago also called "The Order of Saint James of the Sword". This order, originating as a confraternity of knights, was founded by King Ferdinand II of León in Cáceres in August 1170 to protect the territories against the Almohads.

The order was transferred to the fortress of Uclés at the time of Alfonso VIII, thus its members were known as friars of Uclés in 1174. A year later Pope Alexander III confirmed that the militia could act in the various Iberian kingdoms by means of the papal decree that Benedictus Dei issued in 1175.

As many of the knights of Santiago were married, during campaigns their wives found shelter with the nuns known as *Comendadoras de Santiago* (who still exist, with a convent in central Madrid). During the mediaeval period this was the only military order in which the members were allowed to marry, the vow of chastity being understood to extend to "chastity within marriage". The knights followed the Rule of St.Augustine in a form adapted to their specific needs.

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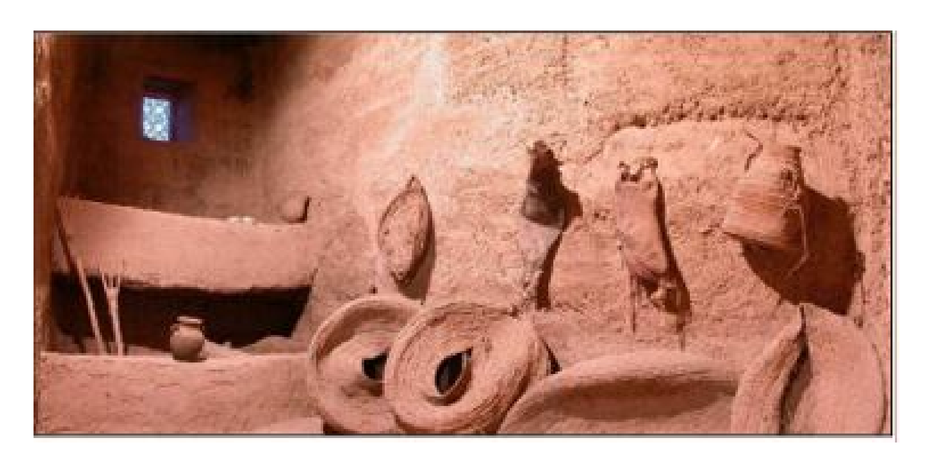
[224] **ROBINSON, Cynthia** (2007) *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean*. Hadith bayad wa Riyad. Routlege Taylor & Francis Group. London and New York, p. 136

5. THE GRANARIES

5.1. The fortified granaries

Meulemeester let us know in the introduction of his article that there were fortified granaries in the Maghreb and described their development and existence in detail:

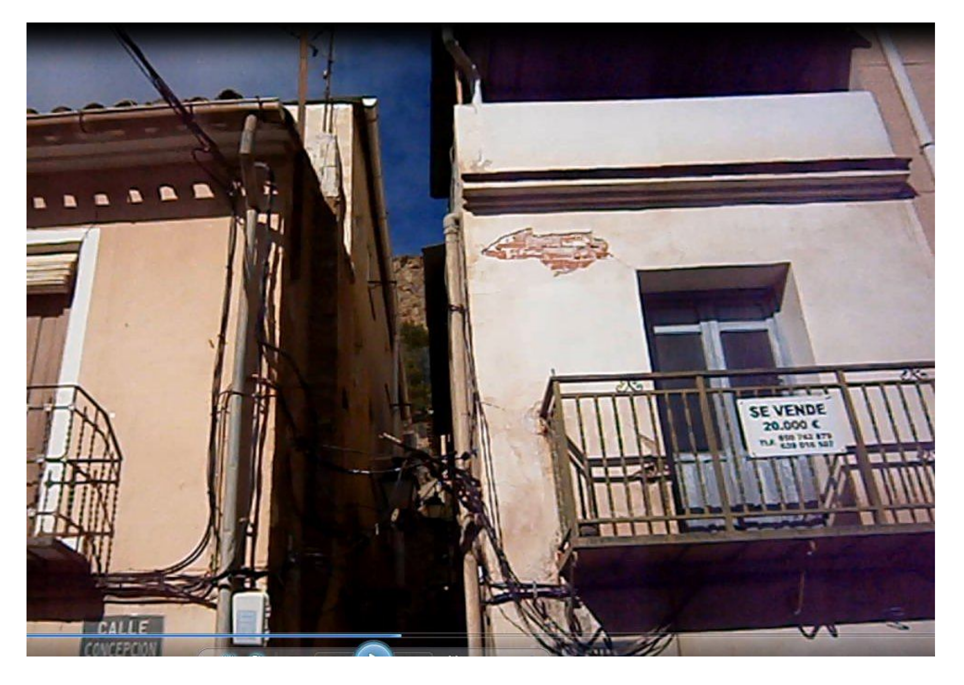
> North-Africa developed different ways for long-term conservation of grain, depending on the structure of the society, which can be nomadic, semi-nomadic or sedentary. In Tunisias, nomadic tribes living in tents stock their grain reserves close to their fields guarded by a paid ward. They keep the grain in reed baskets in shaped like great jars as well as in silos; they are excavated by the guard, have a cylindrical shape and are mostly not more than a meter deep and wide. “The custodian guards the grain not only against any sort of depredation, but also against the improvidence of women, who get, in their tents, only the necessary grain for nourishing their family”. The fear of female waste makes a Tunisian semi- nomad say that “everybody wants his grain well aerated, but away from the women”.



Materials used in the granary, 20th century (The Oasis Museum)
http://www.elkhorbat.com/en.museum.htm

In Tunisia, semi-nomads stock their grain for direct consumption in their houses, while the rest is stored in collective granaries, composed of

individual cells called gholfa, which originally only represented a store room added to the flat rooftop. Sedentary people use baskets stored in the Courtyard of the house as well as the common granaries. When there are no external factors of insecurity, they might choose to build a domestic granary of the ghorfa type, annexed to the residence. This type of construction has survived in some of the Andalusian mountain villages, where the store room on the rooftop is called the camara[225].



Store room on the rooftop of an old house in Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

In Blanca we also still see aerated store rooms on the rooftops of houses called "cámaras". They are mainly present in old houses and

[225] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2003). The Cabezo de la Cobertera (Valle de Ricote, Murcia) and the fortified graneries from the Magreb to central Europe. In: II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Vale de Ricote: "Despierta tus sentidos". Blanca, 14, 15, 16 de Noviembre de 2003, pp. 41-56. Citation on p. 42.

were built before the refrigerator was invented. The photo above was taken near Calle de La Concepcion, place where Blanca had its hermitage "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción" centuries ago.



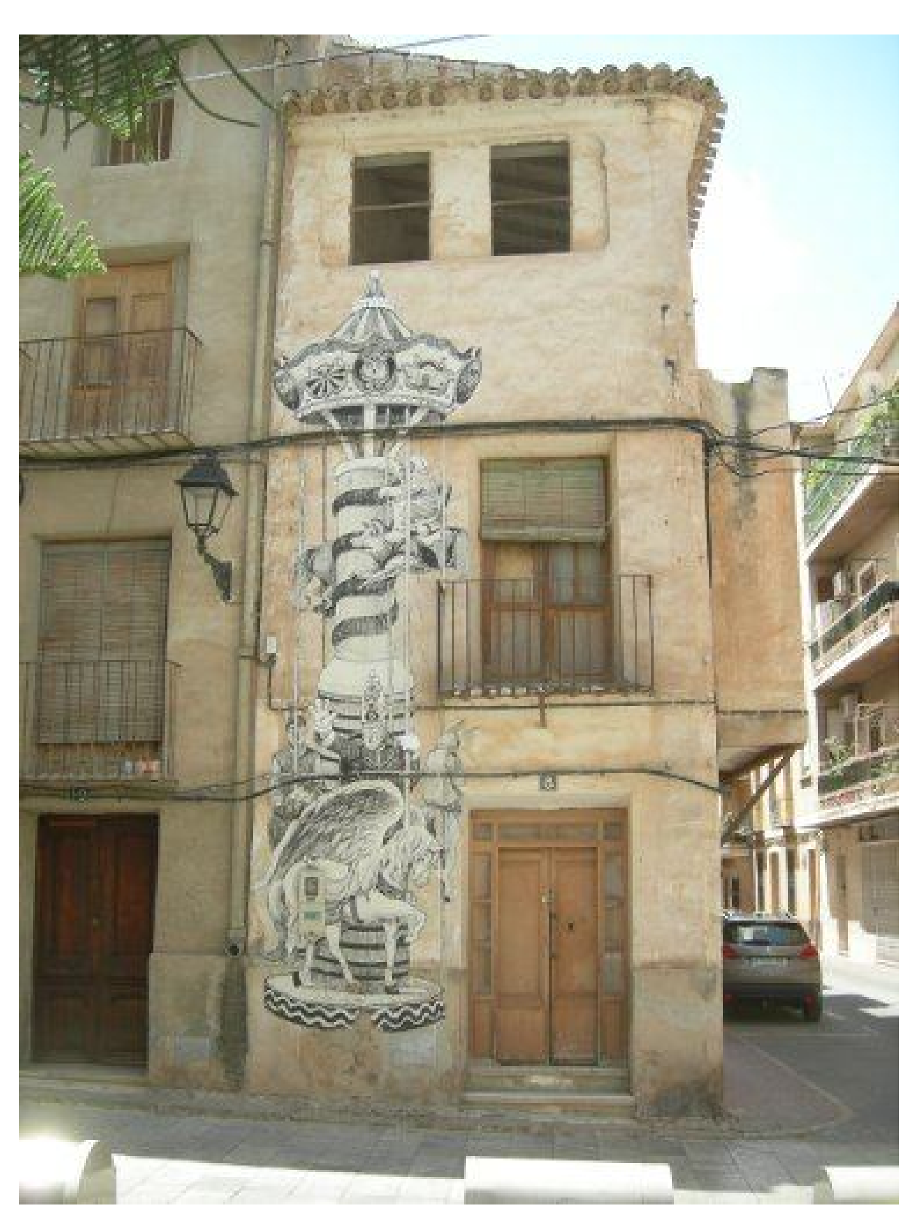
Store room on the rooftop of an old house in Blanca (Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Store room on the rooftop of an old house in Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Store room on the rooftop of an old house in Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Store room on the rooftop of an old house in Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

5.2. The Granary of Villena

Before discussing the granary of the *Cabezo de Cobertera* in *La Corona* which is the only one of its kind in Spain in more detail it is necessary to revert to the granary in Villena. There was another granary related to Tudmir and Almanzor. It had a connection to a granary situated in the territory of Tudmir. Francisco Franco-Sānchez mentions interesting points wabout the allocation of the granaries: "These stores of the küra of Tudmir were located in a strategic zone far from the coast; (....) the Via Augusta, military expeditionary forces did not have to go far off their route when they required supplies from the state granaries in the kuras[226]:

> This control was also carried out, although less directly, by the management of those in charge of the provincial granaries, as shown by news from Ibn Bassam, contained in a letter from Ibn Suhayd to the Valencian taifa king, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'Amir (Almanzor's grandson), explaining the promise that he had been made to grant him a property in Tudmir. The motive was that Ibn Suhayd's father had been named governor of Tudmir and Valencia by Almanzor, and the exploitation of the aforementioned property in an indeterminate place had been ceded to him; after nine years as governor, his father returned voluntarily to Cordoba weighed down with enormous wealth: *"four hundred gold dinars from the sale of products; gold objects with a value of 100,000 dinars; ownership documents for five hundred head of livestock and two hundred selected slaves[227]".* The governor Ibn Suhayd presented the list of earnings to Almanzor in order for him to indicate the tax that he had to pay for them, complaining about the high price of the grain required to feed the slaves and the livestock. In a display of generosity, Ibn Abi 'Amir exempted him from the taxes and conceded him two thousand *almuds* of cereals, half of wheat, and half, barley, that had to be taken from the state granaries in Villena (Fillana), situated near his property.

[226] **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2008) *The Andalusian Economy in the Times of Almanzor*. In: Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum, II, pp. 83-112. Cited on pp. 93.94

[227] **IBN BASSÂM** (d. 542/1147). Ad-Dahîra fi mahâsin ahl al-gazîra, Arab edition by Ihsân 'Abbâs, I. Tunis: Dâr al 'Arabîya li-l-Kitâb, 1975: I, p. 193.

5.3. The Granary of Puentes

After the study of archaeological evidence in southeastern al-Andalus Jorge Eiroa suggests that, possibly, many of the fortified sites that have a typology too compartmentalized and without apparent parallel should be interpreted as fortified granaries. One of the examples he gives corresponds to the granary of Puentes (Lorca, Murcia). On the other hand he thinks that the fortified granaries had been erected in the eleventh century[228].

Ana Pujante Martínez holds a different opinion. She could not consider the castle of Puentas being an exclusive fortified collective granary[229]:

> The presence of granaries linked to the different departments or units of the habitat contribute an interesting feature that particularizes the castle without this feature being decisive enough to consider the castle of Puentes as an exclusive agadir or fortified collective granary.

Al-Udri said in the 11th century that the grain of the harvests of Tudmir remained underground for fifty years without altering[230]. In the 13th century Al-Qazwini cites al-'Udri when he, with reference to the Lorca county, states that[231]: "one grain of wheat produces 100 grains".

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[228] **EIROA, Jorge** (2011) *Fortified Granaries in Southeastern al-Andalus*. In: Processing, Storage, Distribution of Food. Food in the Medieval Rural Environment. Edition by Jan Klápsté & Petr Sommer, Ruralia, VIII (Turnhout Brepols), pp. 1-9

[229] **PUJANTE MARTÍNEZ, Ana** (2005) *El castillo, la Alquería y Maqbara de puentes (Lorca, Murcia)*. In: Memorias de arqueología 14, pp. 505-560. Citation on p. 546

[230] **AL'UDRI** (1965) *Tarsi' al-ajbar*. Edition Al-Ahwani, Madrid. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, E. y ÁLVAREZ DE MORALES, C.** (1991) "Transformaciones del paisaje agrario en época histórica: Estudio de las fuentes documentales. Las fuentes medievales", In: *El cambio cultural del IV al II milenio a.C. en la comarca noroeste de Murcia*, Madrid, pp. 281-289. Citation on p. 282

[231] **AL-QAZWINI** (1848) *Atar al-bilad*. Edition Wüstenfeld, Göttingen; and edition Dar al-Sadiq, Beyrut, 1960. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, E. y ÁLVAREZ DE MORALES, C.** (1991) "Transformaciones del paisaje agrario en época histórica:

Al-Himyari said in the 14th century that the grain of the Region of Lorca can remain ensiled underground for up to twenty years without altering[232].

5.4. The granary of Darrax

An archaeological tour through the municipality of Blanca comes with the obligatory allusion to the Muslim occupation in the territory of the current Darrax. There we have the Cabezo de Cobertera in a territory known as *Pago de la Corona,* located about 3km to the southeast of Abaran of which the occupation, archeologically proved, was Iberian. Interesting to see is that from this deposit come numerous ceramic fragments that correspond to the different Muslim types of the second half of the 12th century and first decades of the 13th century[233].

From then on it is almost necessary to date the construction of the granary and date it at least before the presence, in Negra (Blanca), of a village guarded by a tower. On the other hand, apart from the fact that a dirham around 1247 was found, Meulemeester had observed reconstructions of certain chambers in the granary.

Estudio de las fuentes documentales. Las fuentes medievales", In: *El cambio cultural del IV al II milenio a.C. en la comarca noroeste de Murcia*, Madrid, pp. 281-289. Citation on p. 285

232 **AL-HIMYARI** (1938) *Rawd al-Mitar.* Edition E. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden; Edition Ihsan 'Abbas, Beyrut, 1975. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, E. y ÁLVAREZ DE MORALES, C.** (1991) "Transformaciones del paisaje agrario en época histórica: Estudio de las fuentes documentales. Las fuentes medievales", In: *El cambio cultural del IV al II milenio a.C. en la comarca noroeste de Murcia*, Madrid, pp. 281-289. Citation on p. 287

233 **JORGE ARAGONESES, Manuel** (1974) *Abarán. Arqueología. Patronato de cultura de la excma. diputación provincial de Murcia*, Murcia. pp. 15-17

FLORES ARROYUELO, Francisco J. (1989) Los últimos Moriscos (Valle de Ricote, 1514). Academia Alfonso X el Sabio. Murcia. p. 130



From left to right: Govert Westerveld, Prof. Johnny de Meulemeester and Ángel Ríos Martínez (Abarán, 2002)[234].

Consequently he was of the opinion that the chronology of the granary had to be revised[235]. This was already observed by Meulemeester in 1990[236]:

> De oorspronkelijke Arabische bewoning gaat waarschijnlijk terug tot de 11de eeuw, maar kende haar hoogtepunt in de eerste helft van de 13de eeuw.

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[234] In 2002 Ángel Ríos Martínez and myself became good friends of Prof. Johnny de Meulemeester and visited the castle of Blanca. There we proposed to him to study the age of the castle of Blanca with carbon-14 to which Meulemeester gladly agreed. Unfortunately we lost this good friend in 2009.

[235] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2006) *Le Valle de Ricote et le développement des recherches de la Région wallonne à l'étranger*. In: Les cahiers de l'urbanisme, Horse-série Septembre, Mélanges d'archéologie médiévale. Liber amicorum en hommage à André Matthys, pp. 46-55

[236] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1990) *Archeologie in Moors Spanje*. In: Vlaanderen. Jaargang 39, pp. 242-243

Translation:

The original Arab occupation probably dates back to the 11th century, but the granary was known to peak in the first half of the 13th century.

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids. Murcia was taken for Yusuf b. Tashfin in Shawwal 484 (Nov.-Dec. 1091) by the Lamtunian general Ibn 'A'Isha who remained governor in Murcia[237].



In the foreground the granary of Darrax
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

Apparently the granary (agadir, plural: igoudar) was a holy place and it was inviolable. The area of the *Cabezo de Cobertera* resembled an impregnable fortress and was considered a sacred place. Like other sacred granaries this area was guarded by a gatekeeper who controlled

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[237] **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936). The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733.

the entrance to the enclosure and the observance of the law. Meulemeester let us know in this respect[238]:



From left to right: Prof. Johnny de Meulemeester, Philippe Mignot, Prof. Morgan de Dapper, Jesús María Molina Molina and Ángel Ríos Martínez (Abarán, 2002)

> The agadir is sacred just like a saint's tomb or a mosque. No wrong doings are committed in the granary: no thefts, no lies, no adultery or murder; the granary is inviolable and constitutes an asylum. The sacred nature might emanate from different sources. So it might originate from the maraboutic protection to which the granary is often vowed. But, on the other hand, it is quite likely that the substrata of this belief are older than Islam itself. Grain is

[238] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de & MATTHYS, André** (1998). The Conservation of Grain and the Fortified Granaries From the Magreb to Central Europe. In Ruralia II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 161-171, Citation on p. 164.

> Sacred in itself, because it is the source of life. So is it accept- able that it is the stored grain itself that lends its magic power and the sacred inviolability it causes to the granary. When deals were concluded inside the granary, it was certainly done there to give the contracts this sacred protection.

The fortified granary arises from the coincidence of rural economy and from war, whether the latter is effective or only a permanent threat; the granary of the Cabezo de la Cobertera thus concerns a local agricultural population - and neighbourhood - faced with the problem of its defense and survival and a real or imagined threat. It was abandoned at the time of the Christian conquest [1243] or, at the latest, during the Mudejar rebellion of 1264. The site, in ruins, was partially reoccupied towards the middle of the 15th century[239].

The survival of a community in an inhospitable environment forced its members to take control of their lives and work toward the common objective of the members. One of the questions facing the Almohads and their community in 1173 was their physical survival on a fertile land in the mountainous Ricote Valley' area where they have found a new life. They succeeded in reconstructing a granary and their agricultural way of life and celebrating their rich cultural heritage in the part of the valley they now call Blanca.

5.5. Aït Bougmez Valley

Morocco's fortress granaries have symbolized the independence of the Berbers. The Berbers (or *Amazigh*; plural: *Imazighen*, meaning "free men") were Morocco's indigenous peoples settled in the northwestern corner of Africa across modern-day Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, and

[239] **BAZZANA, André; MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de; MATTHYS, André** (1997) *Quelques aspects du peuplement médiéval du Valle de Ricote (Murcie, Espagne)*. In: Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe – Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge 1997" Conference – Volume 6, pp. 39-54. Citation on p. 42

beyond long before the arrival of Arabs from the east in the 7th century.

The granaries, found across the Maghreb, were built by these indigenous mountain inhabitants to store and protect food reserves and other valuables. They ensured the supply of produce when crops failed. The granary fortress tradition began when the southern tribes were nomadic.



Granary of the Aït Bougmez Valley (High Atlas) in Morocco
(at the top of the hill)
http://www.alain-collet.com/Maroc/HautAtlas/009.html

Barley could be stored for up to 25 years. Almonds could last up to 20, and argan oil-yielding nuts indigenous to the area for up to 30 years. Honey, ghee, and oil stored in terracotta or glass jars would also last several years.

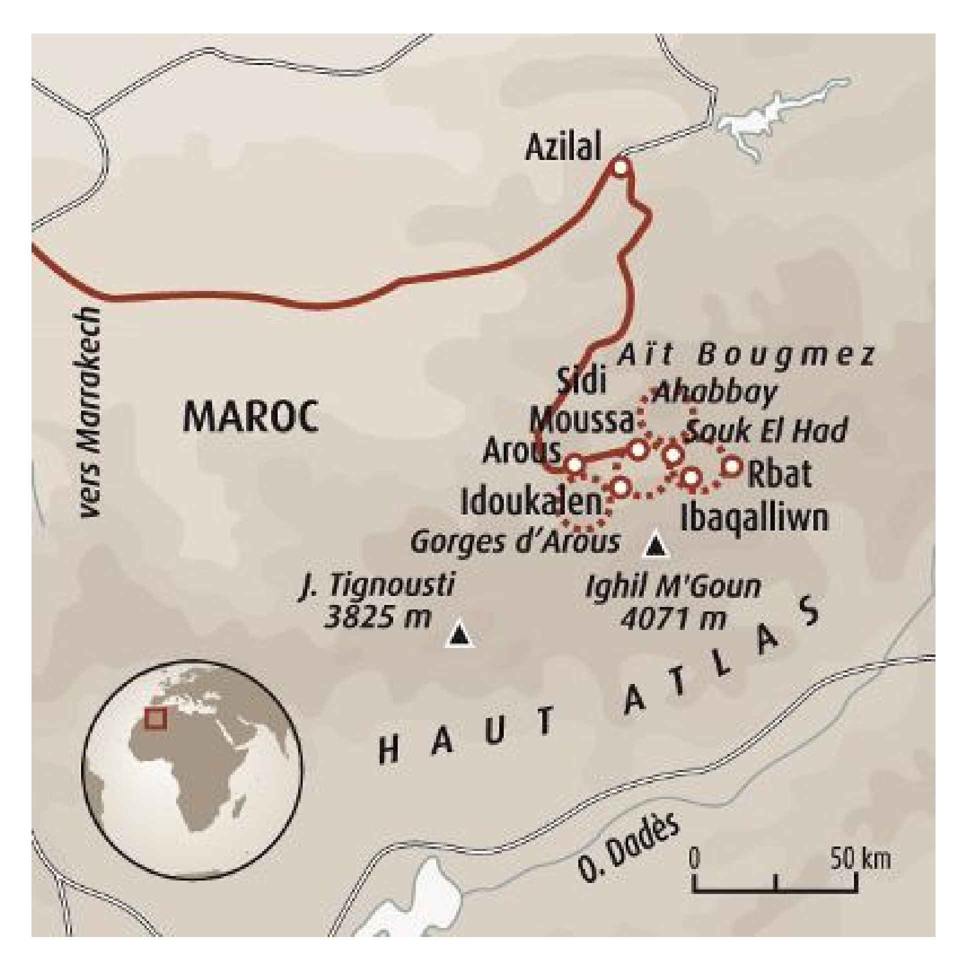


Guard protecting the Granary of the Aït Bougmez Valley
http://www.alain-collet.com/Maroc/HautAtlas/006.html

Still in Morocco, many of the communal granaries have spiritual or religious connections. In the Ait Bouguemez Valley – further north in the High Atlas Mountains – the granary on a pyramid-shaped hill overlooking the valley marks the site of a former Jewish pilgrimage to the saint Sidi Moussa. Typically the pre-Islamic beliefs permeate modern religious practices, the granary is said to offer fertility benefits to female visitors[240].

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240 http://moroccotravelblog.com/2014/11/29/the-other-agadir-traditions-of-berber-granaries-your-morocco-tour-guide/ (17-6-2017)



Aït Bougmez Valley

5.5.1. The unique fortified granary

Salah Saghrili[241] gives us more information about this fortified granary that is unique in its construction style. On the other hand there seems to be a relationship with the Haskura tribe:



Forks to separate the grain from the straw
Origin: Ferkla, c. XX, ref. 490/491.
http://www.elkhorbat.com/en.museum.htm

[241] **SAGHRILI, Salah** (2011). La défense des pays du Sous. In: *Stratégies de défense, de conquête ou de victoire en Méditerranée des textes aux architectures et a l'aménagement.* Université Abou Bekr Belkaid. Tlemcen, p. 275.

In Sous-el-Aqsa, as well as in the other Moroccan provinces, the fortress granary is not found. Simultaneously the family home is solid and spacious, ensuring healthy preservation of grain and its protection against theft. The only tribe which we have seen to make an exception to this rule is that of the Ait Bouguemmeze [Bougmez] in the eastern High Atlas; Situated at a great altitude, it seems to be connected with the tribes forming the transition between the Chleuhs in the west and the Imazighen in the east, and united in the Middle Ages under the great name of Haskura.
The structure of the fortress granary responds to various ecodefensive and even religious needs, and includes buildings and constructions for this purpose. In the center the reserve is actually massive, surrounded by one or more enclosures of stone or thorn, confined to lookouts. The unique and fortified entrance is accompanied by open outbuildings on the enclosure: porter's room, guardhouse, stables, forge, cistern, council chamber, and mosque.

5.6. Salima Naji

The person who knows more than anybody else about the history of the Moroccan granaries is the architect and anthropologist Salima Naji. The network of fortified granary sites in southern Morocco has fallen into decay with the decline of traditional Berber architecture.

Now a woman is trying to change their destiny and her name is Salima Naji. A woman who has travelled many kilometres through the mountains, visiting over 300 granaries at risk of destruction. The agadirs are extraordinary constructions that reflect a truly exemplary way of thinking about rural development: bioclimatic structures with a system of holes in the walls that keep them at a constant temperature and provide permanent ventilation of the storage of perishable goods. Naji has renovated a dozen o f them with her Izuran Association. In her book that we read that[242]:

> Many granaries have been built, if not built, under the protection of a saint, at least sanctified by pious personages. Even if one cannot verify this information - especially since a narrative can easily be recuperated - the word testifies to their imprint and protection for five or six centuries in one place. This does not allow us to date the buildings, but it does allow us to at least say that a granary existed at the time of the holy man that can most often be authenticated from written documents.

[242] **NAJI, Salima** (2006) *Greniers collectifs de l'Atlas: patrimoines du Sud marocain*. Éditions Édisud (France), p. 131

5.7. Preservation of grain

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Awwām, better known as Ibn al-'Awwām al-Ishbīlī "the Sevillian", wrote his magisterial *Kitāb al-filāḥa* (The Book of Agriculture) probably towards the end of the 12th century. Ibn al-'Awwām's *Kitāb al-filāḥa* is without a doubt the most comprehensive agricultural treatise written in Arabic. Preservation of the grain in the granary is described in the Arabic book of Ibn al-'Awwän[243], who transcribes the texts of Kastos. Here follows the French translation:

> **Conservation des *graines alimentaires* (cereales particulièrement).**
> Le *froment,* dit Kastos, peut se conserver de deux manierès, d'abord en le garantissant contre l'air et le vent de façon qu'il ne le ressente jamais, résultat qu'on obtient en le déposant dans des *silos* ou quelque chose d'analogue; ou en second lieu, au contraire, en l'exposant au vent, en le portant d'un lieu dans un autre, dans un grenier ou autre emplacement analogue (en le jetant à la pelle). On étale au fond du *silo* une conche de paille de froment de deux coudées d'épaísseur (0^{m},924) au moins; ou méme une conche pareille a l'ouverture, qu'on a soin de bien écarter; on dispose aussi sur les cótés, tout à l'entour, de la paille en la forçant par la pression, afin que, bien isolé, le blé ne soit point en contact avec les parois du silo. Quant aux greniers, ils devront être pourvus de fenêtres à l'aspect du levant et à celui du couchant, et à l'opposé du midi pour que le grain reçoive les vents de ces aspects et enlève les causes d'altération; mais il faut bien se garder de pratiquer des ouvertures à l'aspect du midi, à cause de la violence du vent qui vient de ce côté.
>
> Une des causes qui peuvent assurer la conservation du froment, c'est de l'emmagasiner en épi. Il en est qui disent que le millet emmagasiné avec son épi dure cent ans. Kastos dit que si on prend de la feuille séche de grenadier, ou du plâtre en pondre, ou de la cendre de bois de chêne tamisée, et qu'on mêle au froment une de ces substances dans la proportion d'une partie de cendre pour cent de froment, il se conservera garantí de toute altération.
> Les agronomes persans tiennent le même langage que Kastos; ils disent de plus que si on répand de la cendre de sarment, ou du crottin de monton (en

[243] **IBN AL-'AWWĀM** (1866) *Kitāb al-Filāḥa, Le Livre de l'Agriculture,* 2 vols. French translation by J.-J. Clément-Mullet. Paris: Librairie A. Franck. Vol. 1, pp. 638-640

poudre) ou de l'absinthe, chaque chose étant bien sèche, sur du froment, il se trouve, par là méme, garanti de tout accident, il conserve sa dureté intacte; ces substances sont de celles qui préservent le froment de l'invasion du ver et qui l'éloignent. Il en est qui disent que la feuille du caprifiguier mise dans les silos éloigne les *vers* des substances alimentaires en se mêlant à elles. On obtiendra le même résultat en introduisant dans le blé de la feuille de cyprés ou de la feuille de bette desséchée, parce qu'elles jouissent tout particuliérement de cette propriété (vermifuge); l'écorce de cédrat, la menthe de rivière, tuent aussi les vers, et, quand on les introduit entre les étoffes, elles les en éloignent.

Iambouschad dit, dans l'Agriculture nabathéenne , que toutes les espèces de jonc prises ensemble, ou celles-là seulement qu'on aura à sa disposition, étalées en couche sur le sol de l'emplacement dans lequel on emmagasine du froment et l'orge, sont pour ces deux céréales un procédé très-profitable, et les préservent des petits animaux (charançons, etc.) qui pourraient s'engendrer en elles et les dévorer, ainsi que de toutes causes d'altérations fâcheuses qui pourraient les atteindre. Ce mode de conservation est tel, que le grain rend un quart en plus de farine quand on le soumet à la mouture, que cette farine est plus lourde et qu'elle absorbe une plus grande quantité d'eau. L'orge gagne cette augmentation du quart en poids, quand on y mêle une espèce de cendre quelconque, ou du gypse passé au tamis, dans une proportion telle que sa couleur blanche puisse se remarquer dans le grain; le meme résultat s'obtient si au centre du monceau on place une jarre pleine de vinaigre de bonne qualité; l'orge n'a plus à craindre aucune espèce d'accident.

Il en est qui disent que si on mouille avec une mesure (*litt.* jarre) *d'eau d'olive* la quantité: de cent mesures (jarres) de graines alimentaires, elles ne se gâteront point et n'éprouveront aucune avarie; elles se conserveront aussi étant mouillées avec de l'eau d'absinthe. On parvient de même á conserver les lentilles, les haricots et autres légumes pareils si on les dépose dans un vase de terre qui aura contenu de l'huile, ou que son propriétaire aura frotté d'huile á l'intéríeur; disposant ensuite au sommet une couche de cendre, ces légumes seront préservés de toute avarie. On peut encore mouiller avec de l'eau de mer, ou seulement saumâtre, puis laisser sécher et déposer dans le vase; ce moyen assure la conservation. On dit que si on étale les graines, suivant d'autres, les légumes, pendant une nuit nébuleuse pour que la rosée les atteigne, et qu'en suite on les relève le lendemain matin, encore toutes mouíllées de rosée, qu'en cet état on les mette dans des pots, Dieu les préservera de tout mal. On dit que si á l'entour d'un monceau de blé on répand de la terre argileuse, blanche (en poudre) ou de la cendre passée au tamis, en décrivant une figure circulaire, les fourmis n'approcheront point.

After having finished this chapter I came across an interesting study by Prof. Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez who is also of the opinion that the state

had to do with the castle of Negra (Blanca). Some of his comments are[244]:

> The site of Blanca can serve as an example of the role of fortified spaces in relation to the *alquerías* and their ability to represent the power of both the rural community and the state.
>
> In these same rural fortified settlements other items of archaeological evidence can also be found, which seem to be explicit representations of state power.
>
> This is the case of the castle of Blanca, whose monumental appearance could be a representation of Almohad power over the rural communities of the valley (...).

[244] **EIROA Rodríguez, Jorge A.** (2015) *Representations of Power in Rural Communities in Southeastern al-Andalus (Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries)*. In: *Power and Rural Communities in Al-Andalus. Ideological and Material Representations.* Adela Fábregas García & Flocel Sabaté i Curull (coord.), pp. 85-11. Citations on pp. 103, 108 and 109

6. THE VILLAGE OF AMTOUDI

6.1. Information about Agadirs

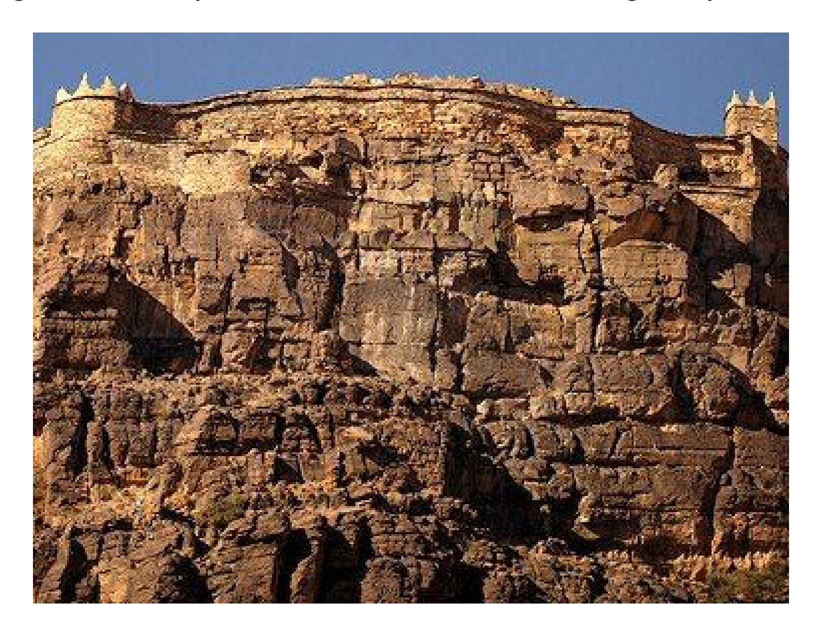
On the southern border of the Anti-Atlas Chain (northern Sahara Desert domain) the millenary culture of Moroccan population has survived in the form of *agadirs.* Agadirs are typical fortified granaries, some of them dating from the tenth century, and built on rocky mountains. They are located in inhabited areas with permanent water from oases and food supply.



http://inhabitat.com/salima-najis-preservation-of-sacred-moroccan-granary-sites-nominated-for-aga-khan-award/

There is an old observation post standing nearby the Amtoudi Granary (Agadir Id Aissa) and its presence is a tremendous example of strategic defence techniques used by Amazigh ancestors. The viewpoint overlooks the desert and surrounding oasis preventing anyone from being able to attack the Amtoudi granary (Agadir) by surprise. Agadir Id Assia is considered to be the best preserved agadir

in Morocco. This 800-year old granary is no longer in use. However, in the past it was of great value as it stored grain for the inhabitants of an area where rain is very scarce. It had been built at a time when bandits and rival tribes were out for others' wealth. And nothing could be more valuable than grain. The position of the agadir of Amtoudi[245] village made it very difficult for thieves to enter the granary.



https://www.journeybeyondtravel.com/blog/amazing-moroccan-architecture.html

The spectacular desert mountain landscape of the Berber village of Amtoudi is similar to Cieza, Blanca, and Ojós. Today it gives home to around 300 families. The village, situated in the Wadi of Argans, has water and with its oasis it has irrigated land. It produces fruits as did

245 **POPP, Herbert; MOHAMED AÏT HAMZA; BRAHIM EL FASSKAOUI** (2011) Les agadirs de l'Anti-Atlas occidental. Atlas illustré d'un patrimoine culturel du Sud marocain. Naturwissenschaft-liche Gesellschaft Bayreuth. Beyreuth, p. 448

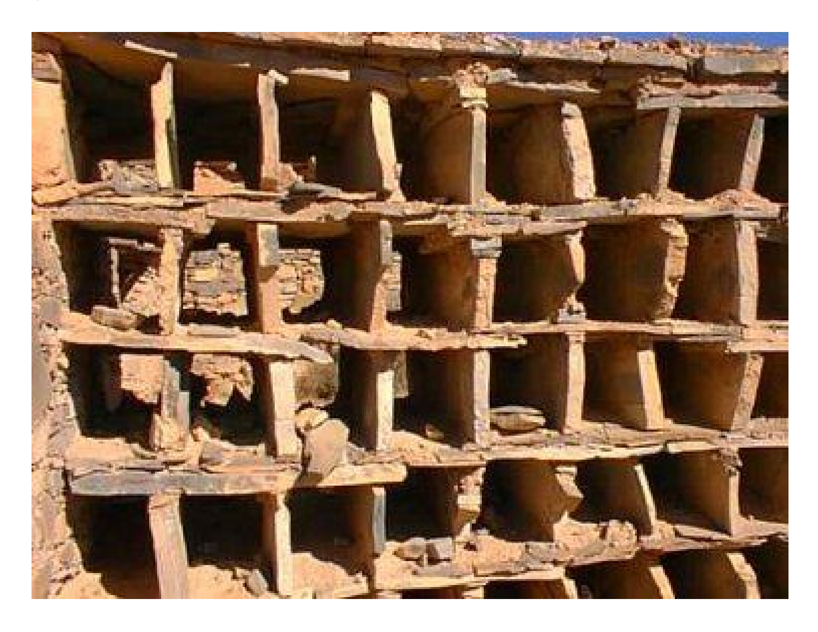
Blanca centuries ago: figs, apricots, almonds, olives, oranges, pomegranates, and dates.



The interior of the Agadir
http://looklex.com/morocco/amtoudi02.htm

The agadir of Amtoudi had been built with different architectural techniques and was located directly on the bedrock that provided materials for building. Consequently this type of material made the agadir of Amtoudi indistinguishable from the landscape. Since the agadir had only a defensive character it was built on an inaccessible site with unstable vertical cliffs. Today the granary of the Cabezo de Cobertera does not have any chamber at the top of the hill, because all its chambers have been destroyed. Fortunately in the Agadir Id Aissa

one can still observe how the chambers could have been in the 12th century in the Cabezo de Cobertera of Darrax.



Ventilation system in the Agadir
http://looklex.com/morocco/amtoudi02.htm

The same can be said about the granary's ventilation system of the Cabezo de Cobertera. What we know of this granary is that "each store has only one wooden door, which opens inwardly and except for a few ventilation orifices there are no openings in the cell walls[246]". However, no word was expressed on the ventilation system in the wall of the whole granary. The ventilation system used in the Amoudi's agadir can probably give us a better idea of what the ventilation in the granary of Darrax could have been like.

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[246] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de & MATTHYS, André** (1998) *The Conservation of Grain and the Fortified Granaries From the Magreb to Central Europe*. In Ruralia II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 161-171, Citation on p. 164



Amtoudi – Author: Andreine
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Amtoudi.JPG
(15-3-2013)

Knowledge of the Agadir Id Aissa of Amtoudi can eventually give an answer to many questions that arise when studying the granary of Darrax.

The Almadenes Canyon is a natural protected area located on the upper River Segura in the region of Murcia. With two kilometers in the river Quípar and nine in the river Segura it extends to 116 hectares. The Almadenes Canyon belongs to the municipalities of Calasparra and Cieza. Striking is the fact that at some points it presents vertical walls of more than one hundred meters in height. We also observe something similar in Amtoudi.

Those who know the village of Ojós in the Ricote Valley (Murcia) will observe that in one part the river Segura has a very high mountain of several hundred meters. We can observe similar landscape in the territory of Amtoudi.

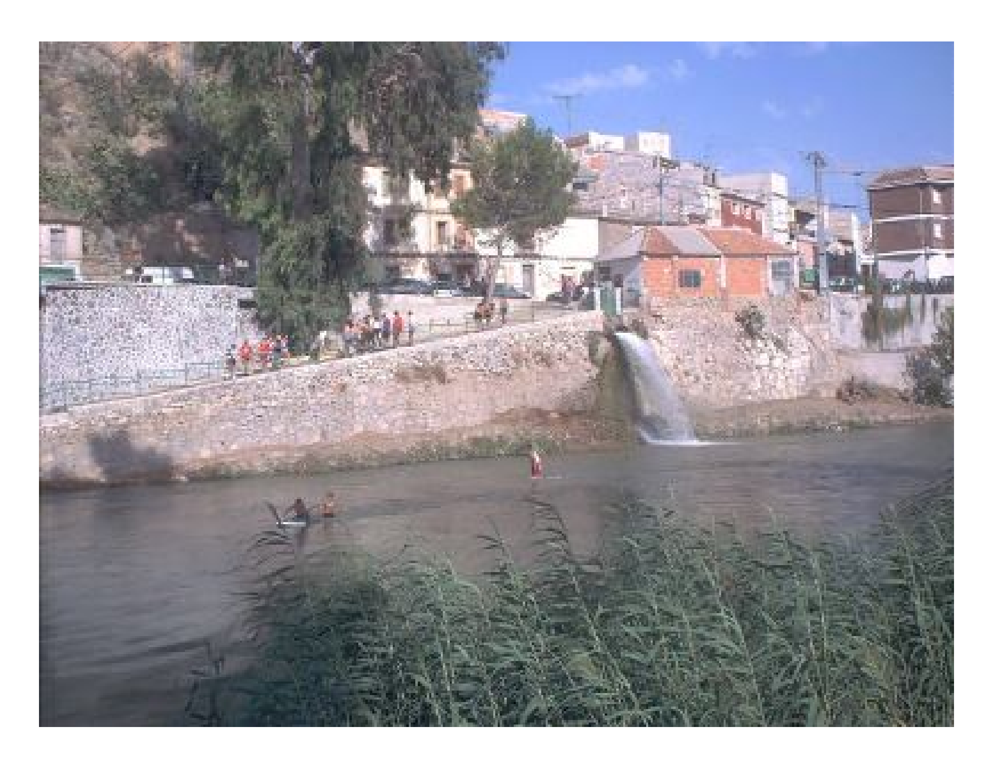


Amtoudi
http://amtoudi002.skyrock.com/ (20-9-2010)

The difference lies in the colour of the water. It is brown in Amtoudi, while the river Segura is blueish during its passage through Ojós. The landscape seems to be more or less the same; the rise of majestic palm trees that give the landscape its Moorish tint and also the other trees and shrubbery at the riverbed seem to be similar in Ojós to those at the riverbed of Amtoudi. With this high mountain one dreams of being near the impressive gorge of the “Solvente” between Ojós and Blanca. Only the harsh reality of waking up teaches us that we are in the territory of Amtoudi.

The beautiful landscape of the next photo with swimming children could be similar to the Segura river during its passage through Blanca. Forty years ago, when there was no any local swimming pool in this village, most of the children went to the Arenal to swim in the river.

The Valle de Ricote is a natural area located in the Vega Alta of the river Segura to the north of the region of Murcia. It includes the villages of Cieza (the natural entrance to the valley), Abarán, Blanca, Ojos, Ricote, Villanueva del Segura, and Archena. In these places one can still smell the Moorish presence. So much so that it is worthwhile to point out that the old orchards linked to the traditional irrigated areas of Valle de Ricote are all worthy of protection.



The River Segura in Blanca (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

6.2. Stone walls

A characteristic note of these orchards are its closely terraced slopes, some of which are lined with stone walls to retain water and soil in places of steep slope.



http://amtoudi002.skyrock.com/ (2-9-2010)

In Amtoudi one observes the terraced orchards. The Ricote Valley has numerous terraced orchards too. These walls made by natural stones are called “hormas de piedra seca” in Spanish and belong to the rich heritage of the valley, because many of them are the result of a continuous tradition over centuries[247].

[247] **SANTIAGO, Caridad de** (2007) *Las hormas de piedra seca en el Valle de Ricote*. In: IV Congreso Internacional del Valle de Ricote “Espierta tus Sentidos”. Centro Cultural de Ricote. Del 8 al 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Ricote, pp. 139-144



Stone walls in Ricote (Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Ricote's orchard with stone wall
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

Dry stone walls have traditionally been used in building construction as field boundaries and garden or churchyard walls, and on steep slopes as retaining walls for terracing.



The village of Aguelluy seen from its granary[248]

[248] **http://viajarpormarruecos.blogspot.com.es/2010/06/amtoudi-id-aissa.html**

6.3. The granary of Aguelluy

When one studies this photo, one may have the immediate impression that s/he is looking at a panorama of the river Segura on its way to Ojós from the castle of Negra (Blanca). However, it will soonest be clear that this is not the case. This image has nothing to do with Blanca. One is in the granary of Aguelluy high in the mountains with a spectacular view of its village situated near Amtoudi.

It will be clear from these photos of Amtoudi that Blanca and the Ricote Valley still smell of the Arabic presence and that there are a lot of similarities between Amtoudi and Blanca.



View from the castle of Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

The De Dapper, De Meulemeester, and Mignot[249] trio let us know that the irrigation of a village goes hand in hand at first with the construction of a collective cliff granary and thereafter with a height granary:

> L'étude des tracés suivis par les réseaux hydrauliques a permis de déterminer la localisation du village primitif, son déplacement et son l'e'volution. Ainsi il est clair que le premier canal principal contoumait le village primitif, implante sur le bord du lit de la riviere. Puis, le canal fut creusé en qanat (canal souterrain) et coulait d'est, de l'Awnil, en ouest sous le village pour rejeter ses eaux non employées dans la Marghane. Cette évolution va de pair avec la construction, d'abord d'un grenier collectif de falaíse, puis d'un grenier de hauteur - en berbère agadir - perché sur une butte au nord du village, enfin d'un grenier quarré au centre du nouveau village construir au XVIIe siecle apres la destruction du village primitif et du grenier perché.

Having finished this chapter I learned that Prof. Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez also had written about Amtoudi. One of his comments is rather important to take into account:

> Chronology is another issue. Despite the revisions being made today through radiocarbon analysis, which may yet force us to change many of the arguments used so far, we have no data for the construction of the Moroccan fortified granaries before the 16th century (*Cressier 1998*, 135), although the texts of medieval Maghreb suggest their presence earlier (*Benhima 2000*). In contrast, the Andalusian examples that have produced dating evidence are from no later than the 13th century. The chronological differences hinder comparative studies and remain a problem that needs to be resolved[250].

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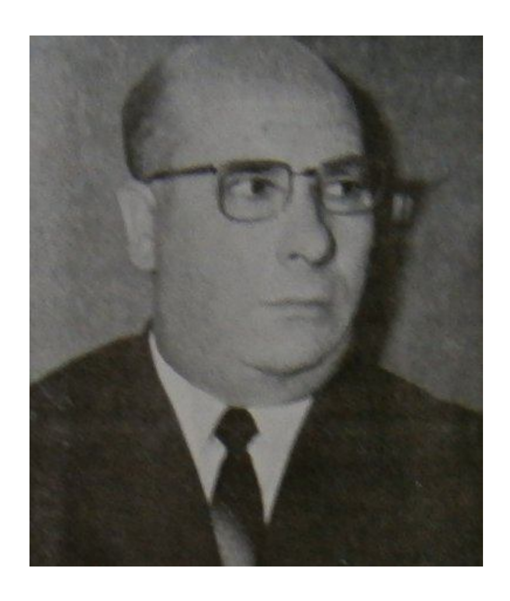
[249] **DAPPER, Morgan de; MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de; MIGNOT, Philippe** (2009) Étude Geo-et Ethno-Archeologique des systemes d'irrigation du village de Tazlaft (Assifs Awnil et Marghane, Ouarzazate, Maroc). In: Ol'Man River Geo-Archaeological Aspects of Rivers and River Plains. Academia Press.Ghent, pp. 273-279. Citation on p. 278

[250] **EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A.** (2011) *Fortified Granaries in Southeastern al-Andalus*. In: Processing, Storage, Distribution of Food. Food in the Medieval Rural Environment. Ruralia, VIII, pp. 1-9

7. DARRAX

7.1. Cabezo de Cobertera

Cabezo de la Cobertera owes its name to the actual crown profile it possesses. In 1964 speleologist Pedro Fernández Molina, a resident of Blanca, found fragments of Iberian ceramics in a geometric style at the bottom of a shallow pit.



Pedro Fernández Molina

An archaeological tour through the municipality of Abarán ends with an obligatory allusion to the Muslim occupation. Revealer of static population centers are the remains of a watchtower at the summit and a cemetery on the slope of Cabezo de la Cobertera, in the territory known as Pago de la Corona, located about 3km southeast of Abarán and of which the first archaeologically proven occupation was Iberian, as previously indicated. From this deposit come numerous ceramic fragments corresponding to the various Muslim types from the second

half of the 12th and first decades of the 13th centuries, as well as some silver and bronze coins of the same culture and chronology[251].

The second piece of information we have comes from Flores Arroyelo, but without any reference, which is really a pity. He informs that in the Valle de Ricote, in the esplanade that completes Cabezo de la Cobertera (or Cabezo Grande) between Blanca and Abarán there is a plant layout of a few houses which still have not been excavated. The houses are square and measure 2x3 meters. The ceramic remains showed that the houses were inhabited by Arabs at times still to be determined although presumably in the 12th century[252].

7.2. Aldarache

The granary of *Cabezo de Cobertera* in *Pago de la Corona* was situated in the territory of Darrax. This place was known as Aldarache[253] in 1244. In 1304 it took the name of Andarraix[254], in 1588 we see the name Aldarrax, and finally in 1591 it changed to Darrax[255] - the name that we see again in 1604[256]. In the 11th and 12th

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[251] **JORGE ARAGONESES, Manuel (**1974) *Abarán. Arqueología. Patronato de cultura de la excma*. diputación provincial de Murcia, Murcia. pp. 15-17

[252] **FLORES ARROYUELO, Francisco J.** (1989) *Los últimos Moriscos (Valle de Ricote, 1514)*. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia. p. 130

[253] **AYALA MARTÍNEZ, C. de** (1995) *Libro de Privilegios de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y León (Siglox XII – XV),* Instituto Complutense de Estudios de la Orden de Malta (ICOMAL), pp. 498 and 499. Cited by **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1995-1996) *Del tratado de Alcaraz al de Almizra de la tenencia al señorío (1243-1244)*. In: Miscellanea Medieval Murciana. Vol. XIX-XX, pp. 279-302. Citation on pp. 297-298

[254] **GIMÉNEZ SOLER, A.** (1905) *Caballeros Españoles en África y africanos en España*. In: Revue Hispanique, tome XII, pp. 352-272

[255] **LISON HERNÁNDEZ, Luis** (2003) *El Valle de Ricote: una encomienda de la Orden de Santiago, Abarán: acercamiento a una realidad, V Curso, p. 29. Apud* **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2005) *Poblamiento Beréber en la zona norte de Ricote: Las Alquerías Andalusíes de Abarán y Darrax*. In: Actas *III Congreso*

century it was probably a densely populated place surrounded by sufficient agricultural land whose farmers were prosperous thanks to their livestock, good agricultural implements, beasts of burden, and fields. The land was well irrigated by the river or channels.

In the center of the granary of Cabezo de Cobertera there is an open area, a water cistern (35m^3)[257], and an oratory[258].

Turístico Cultural Valle de Ricote, Ojós, 25 y 26 noviembre, 2005, Abarán (Murcia), pp. 355-389

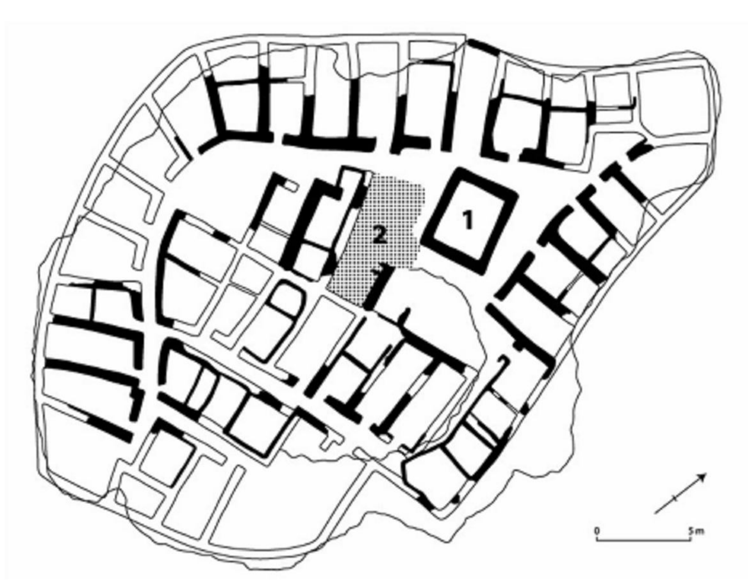
[256] **LISÓN HERNÁNDEZ, Luis**. (1986) *Aportaciones para la historia del regadío en Abarán: 1492-1859*, *Programas de Festejos de Abarán. Apud* **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (0000) *El granero fortificado islámico de Andarraix: un posible reclamo turístico y cultural para el Valle de Ricote*. In: *Actas II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote, Blanca, 14-16 noviembre, 2003,* Abarán (Murcia), pp. 63-74

[257] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1990) *Archeologie in Moors Spanje*. In: Vlaanderen. Jaargang 39, pp. 242-243

[258] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de & MATTHYS, André** (1998) *Conservation of Grain and the Fortified Granaries From Magreb to Central Europe*. In Ruralia II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 161-171, Citation on p. 165

MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de (2005) *Granaries and Irrigation: Archaeological and Ethnological Investigations on the Iberian Peninsula and Morocco*. In: Antiquity, Volume 79, Issue 305, pp. 609-615

AMIGUES, François; MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de; MATTHYS, André (1991) *Tercera campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el cerro de la cobertera (Abarán/Blanca – Murcia)*. In: *Memorias de Arqueología*, pp.597-604



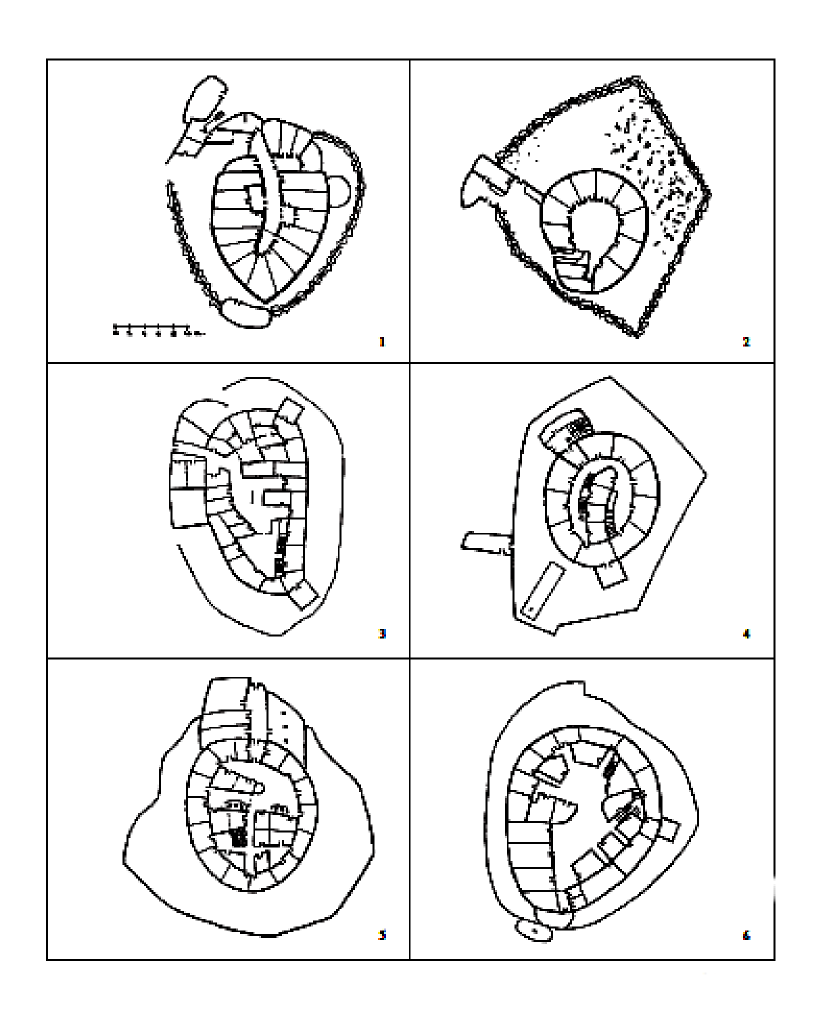
General plan of the excavations. In black: the preserved walls made of "tapial" (adobe); 1. The water storage tank 2. Little mosque or oratory

The *discovery* of a stucco sphere similar to those found atop the cupolas of mosques and *marabouts* together with the reconstruction of the site plan allows researchers to suggest that there was probably an oratory or *marabout* at this location[259]. Similar structures were found in Morocco[260].

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[259] **MIGNOT, Philippe; MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de; DAPPER, Morgan de; BOUSSALH, Mohamed; JLOK, Mustapha** (2007) *Rural Medieval Settlement in Spanish Murcia and Present-day Rural Settlement in the Moroccan Atlas*. In: *European landscapes and lifestyles: The Mediterrane and beyound,* Ediçoes Universitarias Lusofonas, Lisboa, pp. 131-145. Citation on p.135

[260] **JACQUES-MEUNIÉ, DJ.** (1951) *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc*, París, Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines. Cited by **TORRO, Josep & SEGURA, Josep Mª** (2000) *El castell d'Almizra y la cuestión de los graneros fortificados*. In: Recerques del Museu d'Alcoi 9, pp. 145-164. Citation on p. 147



Sample of some fortified granaries of the Anti-Atlas: West (1, 2), Eastern (6) and Sirwa (3, 4, 5) with a structure similar to that of Cabezo de la Cobertera; Sketches published by Jacques-Meunié (1951: 57, 98, 118, 120, 121). 1. Tagadirt Dutgadirt 2. Tagadirt Uqtil 3. Irherm n'Ussaka 4. Irherm Ulfzimmer 5. Agadir n'Uglagal 6. Agadir n'Uanamer.

7.3. The Mihrab

The *marabout* ensured divine protection for the fraction and agadir. Many agadirs contain a mosque whose *mihrab* (eastern-facing prayer niche) protrudes on the surrounding wall.



Mihrab

The Muwahhids were Berber mountaineers and herdsmen, but they were far more enlightened and favourable to culture than the Murawids had been. During their reign some of the greatest names of Arabian culture became world-famous. Among them were Ibn Tufail[261] (d. 1185), Ibn Rushd (Averroes) Musa Ibn Maimun

[261] **GAUTHIER, León** (1900) Hayy ben Yaqdhân. Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaîl. Alger

(Maimonides[262]), and Ibn Sab‘in, all of whom, however, were persecuted on account of their philosophical opinions. A high number of scholars, saints, poets, thinkers, mystics, and philosophers expanded the biographical dictionaries of the time.

[262] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los Musulmanes de Valencia*. Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de València, p. 169
AKASOY, Anna (2007) *Ibn Sab'in, Maimónides y la emigración andalusi*. In: Maimónides y el pensamiento medieval: VIII centenario de la muerte de Maimónides. Actas del IV Congreso Nacional de Filsosofia Medieval: Córdoba, 2004. José Luis Cantón Alonso (ed.). Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2007, pp. 113-119

8. THE MARABOUTS

8.1. The spiritual leader

Taken from the Arabic word murabit, the term marabout describes a variety of Muslim spiritual and political leaders active in spreading Islam through North and West Africa beginning in the 12th century.

Murabi-t originally identified only residents of the ribat - Muslim monastic communities in North Africa that flourished in the 12th century. As Islam gained followers across the Maghreb (North Africa), the term marabout expanded to include disciples of Islamic teachers, members of Sufi fraternities, and mystical spiritual teachers of Islam. By the 19th century marabout evolved to incorporate anyone associated with the orthodox Muslim faction in the religious wars in the Senegambia. Its development as a term illustrates the increasing and changing role of Islam in spiritual, cultural, and political life in North and West Africa.

The marabout, along with merchants and traders, played an essential role in the dispersion of Islam in the Maghreb. Seen as an alternative to the intellectual elite Islam of urban Arab migrants, the marabout were known for their miracles and magic, gaining popularity especially among rural populations. Described as populist in their politics, the marabout became highly influential, gaining followers and integrating into regional political and social structures. Although they gained much popular support, some Islamic kingdoms, including the Almoravid dynasty in Morocco, persecuted them as heretics as early as the 12th century. Under the Almohad dynasty, successors to the Almoravids, the marabout gained power, increasing their influence until the century when they again faced persecution by Moroccan political and religious leaders.

While some marabouts established themselves as resident teachers and spiritual leaders, becoming powerful leaders in Islamic dynasties, others remained wandering teachers bringing Islam to rural areas. Part of their success came through their willingness and ability to incorporate preIslamic beliefs with the teachings of the Qur'an. This led to local variations among the marabout, following regional differences in indigenous spiritual practices. Despite these regional differences the marabout[263] remained priests and scholars of the Qur'an, making Islam the dominant political and spiritual force throughout North and West Africa by the end of the early modern period.

8.2. A sufi in Haskura

Quite interesting is to see that before 1172 there lived a Moroccan Sufi Sidi Abu Yi'zza in the mountainous region of Haskura in the High Atlas. He was also known as the black saint Sidi Abou Ya'za Yalannou and Moulay Bouazza who died in 1177 C.E. at an age of 100 years[264]:

> "Moulay Bouazza" is an enigma—his genealogy and even the pronunciation of his name are in dispute. According to Vincent Cornell (*Realm of the Saint*, pp. 68 ff.), Abu Yi'zza was an "illiterate and monolingual Masmuda Berber from the mountainous region of Haskura in the High Atlas." He was also "Shaykh of the Shaykhs of the Magrib" to his fellow Sufis and a miracle

263 Further reading: Marian Aguian, "Marabout," in Afri-cana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1,249-1,250; Jean Boulegue and Jean Suret-Canale, "The Western Atlantic Coast," in History of West Africa, vol. 1, 3rd, eds. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1985), 503-530; "Marabout," in Dictionary of African Historical Biography, 2nd ed., Mark R. Lipschutz and R. Kent Rasmussen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 136.

264 http://www.beyond-the-pale.uk/abuYizza.htm (23-6-2017) (Adapted from: http://jprschaefer.blogspot.com/2005/11/my-favorite-black-moroccan-saint.html)

worker to the masses across Morocco, to whom he had become famous at the time of his death in an epidemic in 1177, aged over 100 years. His grave is still an important pilgrimage site, and a town is named after it and him.

During a tax revolt that resulted in an Almohad inquisition, Abu Yi'zza was also implicated and put on trial, because he was aligned with his Sufi master Abu Shu'ayb, who in turn was identified with his master, Ibn Wayhlan. Living in Marrakesh, Ibn Wayhlan had resisted the Almohad siege of the city (which was still in the hands of the remnants of the Almoravid dynasty). After the Berber Almohads took Marrakesh in 1147, they imprisoned Abu Yi'zza in the minaret of the Kutubiyya (main) mosque and interrogated him. Like Abu Shu'ayb, he answered all questions with Qur'anic quotations and was released.

Abu Yi'zza practiced strict vegetarianism, the result of observing a systematic ascetism. To deny his selfish nature, Abu Yi'zza would laboriously prepare simple meals and then refuse all but a tiny portion of them. He wandered about the wilderness eating wild plants for 25 years. For another 20 years he lived in the mountains above Tin Mal, the fortress headquarters of Ibn Tumart, the founder of Almohadism. During this time he wore only a woven reed mat to cover himself. Later, Abu Yi'zza lived for 18 years along the coast, known during this time as “Abu Wanalgut” for eating only *wanalgut*, a plant that grew in trash heaps.

For another period he ate only “the edible hearts of oleanders and wild acorn mash, which he would make into flat breads and carry in a small pouch on his belt." Abu Yi'zza practiced Sufic *malamatiyya*-inspired devotion, the “path of shame,” which is followed so that its practitioners do good without hope of eternal reward. Thus Abu Yi'zza intentionally broke specific religious codes when he felt he was being held in too high esteem.

'One of the companions of Abu Yi'zza got married. His wife asked him for a female slave, but he did not have one. So Abu Yi'zza said to him, “I will substitute myself for the female slave,” for he was black and had no hair on his face. He dressed himself in the clothes of a female slave and served the man and his wife for an entire year. He ground wheat, kneaded dough, made bread, and poured the water—all at night—while in the day he performed his devotions in the mosque. After a year had gone by, the wife said to her husband, “I have never seen anyone like this slave! She does all that is [normally] done during the day at night, and never appears in the daytime.” Her husband turned away from her and neglected to answer, but she continued to ask him until he said, “No one works for you but Abu Wanalgut, and he is no female slave!” Then she knew it was Abu Yi'zza and said, “By

God, this one will never work for me again, and I swear that I will do my work myself!" From that time on, she did her work herself.'

According to Cornell, Abu Yi'zza is associated with wildness, identified as "a wild creature of the mountain *(Berber adrar)* and forest *(Berber lghabt)*—a liminal being, impervious to domestication, whose potency is accentuated by the fact that his abode lies beyond the bounds of civilisation."

Abu Yi'zza's miracles chiefly involved the healing of both people and animals and the knowledge *('ilm* or *ma'rifa* or *firasa)* of future events which is sent by God. Cornell notes that healing was associated with black skin; since sub-Saharan Africans have to this day held low status in the eyes of both Berbers and Hamitic 'Arabs' in Morocco, one of the few honorable occupations open to them prior to the Almohad revolution was healing. Abu Yi'zza was criticised for his method of healing of women, which involved his touching their bare breasts. When told of the criticism by the *Ulama*, however, Abu Yi'zza responded, "Do they not allow a doctor to look at that place and touch it out of necessity? Has even one of their doctors become my enemy? I touch only diseased bodies in order to heal them."

Once, when a critic said outside of his presence that Abu Yi'zza was ignorant, and the critic was struck dumb, Abu Yi'zza then healed him saying, "You have spoken the truth … I am ignorant. I know nothing but what my Lord has made known to me." Cornell notes that this paraphrase of the Qur'an identifies Abu Yi'zza with the Prophet Muhammad, who was also illiterate and knew only what God revealed to him.

Apart from a long notice on him by al-Tadili in his *al-Tashawwuf ila Ridjal al-Tasawwuf,* Abu Ya'azza was the subject of a monograph entitled *al-Mu'za fi Manakib Abi Ya'za* by a Moroccan Sufi author Ahmad b. Abi '1-Kasim al-Sawmac'i who died in 1013/1604. See also E. Levi-Provencal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen Age,* Rabat 1934, 77. One can find more bibliography about him in Brill[265].

265 **VARIOS** (1986) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Volume 1. A-B. Leiden: E.J. Brill, p. 159. (First edition in 1960)

9. THE CASTLE OF NEGRA

In 2002 Ángel Ríos Martínez and I became good friends of Prof. Johnny de Meulemeester.

In November of the following year Blanca hosted the Second Cultural Tourist Congress of the Ricote Valley. Prof. Meulemeester was in the Ricote Valley again for his research in August and Ángel Ríos and I took this opportunity to visit the castle of Blanca with him. Prof. André Bazzana, an expert in castles, was also in the territory and accompanied us.



From left to right:
Govert Westerveld, Prof. Meulemeester, Prof. Bazzana, a student and Ángel Ríos Martínez













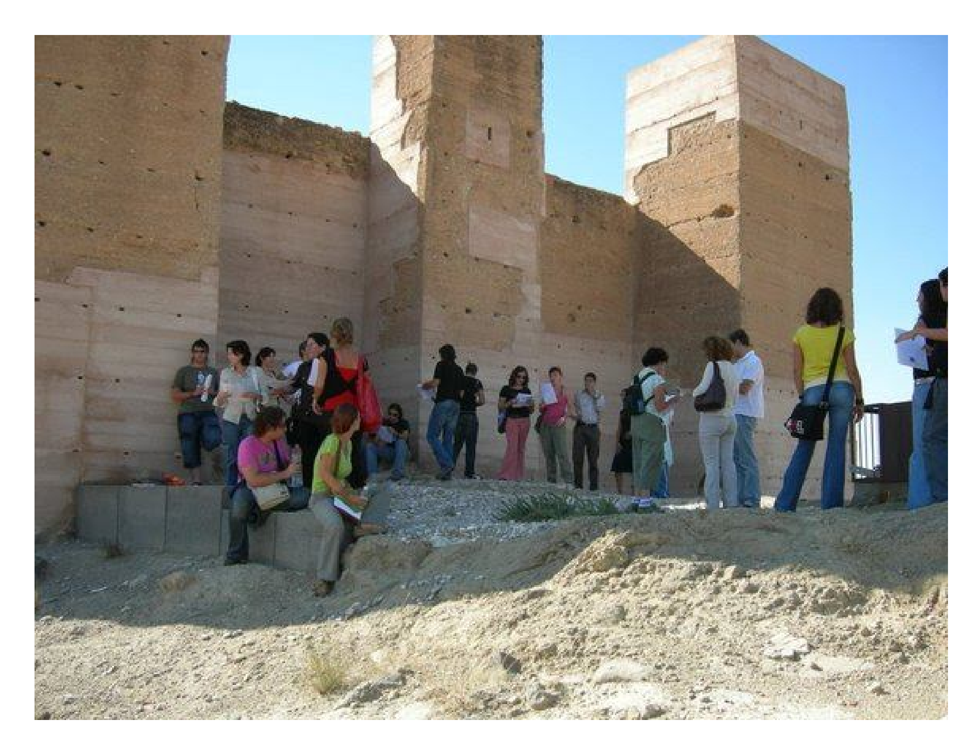








Once in the castle of Blanca, we asked Prof. Meulemeester if he could help us to ascertain the age of the castle of Blanca with carbon-14 to which Meulemeester gladly agreed. He requested us to get our mayor's approval of this investigation, while he would arrange the financial side with his university in Belgium and speak to a good archaeologist at the University of Murcia, Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez. Ángel Ríos Martínez arranged for some samples of the wood in the castle with which the carbon-14 test could be done. The mayor of Blanca Mr. Rafael Laorden Carrasco was very enthusiastic about the project from the beginning and collaborated in every sense.



Prof. Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez and his students, 2006

In those years I paid weekly visits to Professor Juan Torres Fontes with whom I came into contact in the nineties thanks to the good friend Prof. José Antonio Lozano Teruel. My visits to Juan Torres Fontes went on for more than 15 years and on one of them Don Juan informed me that Jorge Eiroa Rodríguez was a promising professor with a bright future. Taking this into account I was lucky that in 2006 I could go with professor Eiroa and all his students to the castle of Blanca during one of the courses at the Universidad Internacional del Mar. Seeing his archaeological investigations and interest in the Ricote Valley and Blanca I gave this professor two of my books[266] about Blanca, hoping that one day he would concentrate on this village.

After this small introduction of the restored castle of Blanca I'll continue with the historical details.

9.1. The watchtower of Negra

Thanks to the archaeological dating we know that the castle was built during the second half of the twelfth century. Surface finds of earthenware indicated a Moorish occupation in the 11th-12th century[267]. Nearby the castle was another system of defense, built in the 11th and 12th century. It was probably in the form of a rural refuge by means of a tower, 45 meters from the forthcoming castle[268].

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[266] **WESTERVELD, Govert (**1997) *Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700*. ISBN 84-923151-0-5. Foreword by Prof. Juan Torres Fontes, Universidad de Murcia. Beniel, 900 pages

WESTERVELD, Govert (2002) *Blanca, "el Ricote" de Don Quijote. Expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España. Años 1613-1654.* ISBN 84-923151-1-3. Foreword by Prof. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Universidad of Harvard, USA. Blanca, 1004 pages

[267] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1990) *Archeologie in Moors Spanje.* In: Vlaanderen. Jaargang 39, pp. 242-243

[268] **EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A. & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2015) *Castillo Blanca.* In: 100 años de investigaciones Arqueológicas en la Universidad de Murcia, p. 76

Los trabajos de excavación arqueológica de 2004 y 2005 se centraron en la torre situada en un pequeño cerro a unos 45 m. en dirección este del castillo, que hasta entonces no había sido catalogada. Se trata de una estructura cuadrangular (5,00 x 5,60 m), realizada en un compacto tapial hormigonado de cal y canto rodeada por un complejo muro perimetral del que parte un corredor fortificado. En conjunto, se trata de un complejo fortificado compuesto por una torre principal, al menos otra torre secundaria y un pequeño albacar, levantado en los siglos XI-XII y reforzado en una segunda fase (s. XIII). Se trataría, por tanto, de una fortificación anterior a la construcción del castillo actualmente conservado, destinada a las tareas de refugio y de vigía y control del territorio circundante, en conexión visual con los terrenos de regadío próximos al río y con otros emplazamientos contemporáneos significativos del entorno, como el granero fortificado del Cabezo de la Cobertera.



Ancient observational tower from the 11th-12th century
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

Loose translation

> The archaeological excavations of 2004 and 2005 focused on the tower located on a small hill about 45m east of the castle, which until then had not been cataloged. It is a quadrangular structure (5.00x5.60m) made in a compact tapial concreted of lime and chalk, surrounded by a complex perimeter wall that forms part of a fortified corridor. Together it is a fortified complex composed of a main tower, at least one secondary tower, and a small *albacar* built in the 11th and 12th century and reinforced in the second phase (13C). It would therefore have been a fortification prior to construction of the currently preserved castle, intended for refuge, monitoring, and control of the surrounding territory, in visual connection with the irrigated land near the river and other significant contemporary sites in the surroundings, such as the fortified granary of Cabezo de la Cobertera.

If the tower was constructed between the 11th and 12th century, then we have the Almoravid domain that lasted between 1091 and 1147. We thus come to the period of the Almoravids which was a Berber imperial dynasty of Morocco that came from the Sahara and was founded by Abdallah ibn Yasin who also founded a ribat (military convent, hence the name in Arabic al-Murabitun, those of the ribat) in Senegal.

The Almoravid capital was Marrakesh, a city that they founded in 1062. The Almoravids reigned over the Maghreb and Al-Andalus and were crucial in preventing the fall of Al-Andalus to the Iberian Christian kingdoms when they decisively defeated a coalition of the Castilian and Aragonese armies at the Battle of Sagrajas in 1086. However, the rule of the dynasty was relatively short-lived, because their last king Ishaq ibn Ali was killed in Marrakesh in April 1147 by the Almohad Caliphate who replaced them as a ruling dynasty both in Morocco and Al-Andalus.



Ancient footpath to the castle's entrance
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



Ancient stone houses near the castle
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



The Peña Negra in Blanca (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

9.2. The castle of Negra

Ibn Khaldun observed[269] that “Dynasties are prior to towns and cities” and that “Towns and cities are secondary (products) of royal authority”. Apart from the necessity of having water[270] Ibn Khaldun even thought of defending the city. However, this wisdom should also have been common among the Muslims when they founded the castle and city of Negra[271] (Blanca).

> "But if the city has tribes or settlements in its vicinity that could bring them together promptly and cause them to come to its assistance, or if the roads by which they reach the castle will hinder the advance of an enemy which results when it is located on the flank of a hill or the top of a mountain, it will be protected from the attack; the enemy would give up the hope of surprising the city, knowing the difficulties that the ground would pose to its march, and being convinced that the city would quickly get help”.

The first mention of the village of Negra of which the name changed to Blanca in the forthcoming years, was in a document of Infante Don Sancho[272] in 1281 in which he promised to deliver Negra to the Order of Santiago.

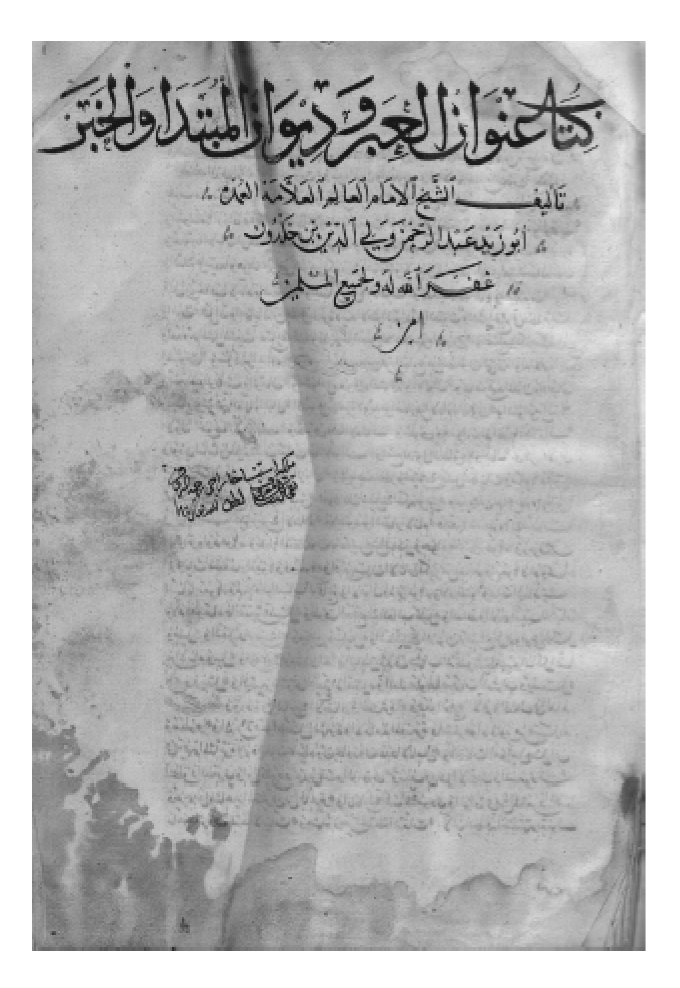
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[269] **IBN KHALDUN** (1374-1382) *The Muqaddimah.* Translation by Franz Rozenthal

[270] According to popular tradition there was a passage (tunnel) from the castle to the river at the very foot of the mountain.

[271] **IBN JALDÚN** (1374-1382) *Introducción a la historia universal (Al-Muqaddimah).* Estudio preliminar, revisión y apéndices de Elías Trabulse. Traducción de Juan Feres. Fondo de Cultura Económica. México, 1977, p. 620

[272] 1281-III-25, Agreda. Promesa del infante don Sancho de entregar a la Orden de Santiago cuando fuera rey el valle de Ricote con todos sus lugares y Calasparra, Librilla y Alhama. (AHN. Sec. Órdenes Militares, Uclés, 293, nº 1). Cfr: **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1973) *Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia*, Codom III, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia



The tittle page with the mark of the proprietor, the Turkish astronomer Taqî al-Dîn ibn Ma'rûf, from the first handwriting of the Muqqadimah of Ibn Khaldûn who arrived in Europe. It was brought by Jacobus Golius from Istanbul in 1629. (MS Leiden, Or. 48, f. 1a)

The last time we see appear the name of Negra was in a document of 1315[273]. Thereafter we have to wait 68 years before we can observe the new name of Blanca[274].

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[273] 1315, Agosto, 5. Burgos. Sentencia dictada por el infante don Pedro, tutor de Alfonso XI, contra el moro de Blanca Mahomat Abollexe, que, haciéndose pasar por cristiano, cohabitó con una cristiana, y contra el cristiano Juan de Dios que cooperó



View from the castle of Blanca:
The river Segura to Abarán (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

Unfortunately we do not know the Arabic name of Blanca before 1281, thus suspect that in those years the castle only had a military function and the real population lived in Darrax. Still today the residents think that the name Negra is indebted to *Peña negra,* a black rock nearby the castle of Negra (Blanca).

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en el engaño. (A.M.M. C.R. 1314-1344, f. 4r.). Cfr. **TORRES FONTES, Juan & SAEZ, Emilio** (1943). Privilegios a la ciudad de Murcia. Anuario del Derecho Español, Madrid. pp. 7-8.

[274] 1383-X-18.- Martín Alfonso de Valdivieso, adelantado del reino de Murcia por el conde de Carrión, al concejo de Murcia. Pidiendo que dejasen libre a un moro (de Blanca) de su encomienda (Valle de Ricote) que fue prendido a requerimiento de un judio de Elche. (A.M.M. A.C. 1383, fol. 27r-v).. Cfr. **VEAS ARTESEROS, Francisco** (1990). Documentos del siglo XIV (3). Codom XII. Murcia. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio. Murcia. pp. 213-214.



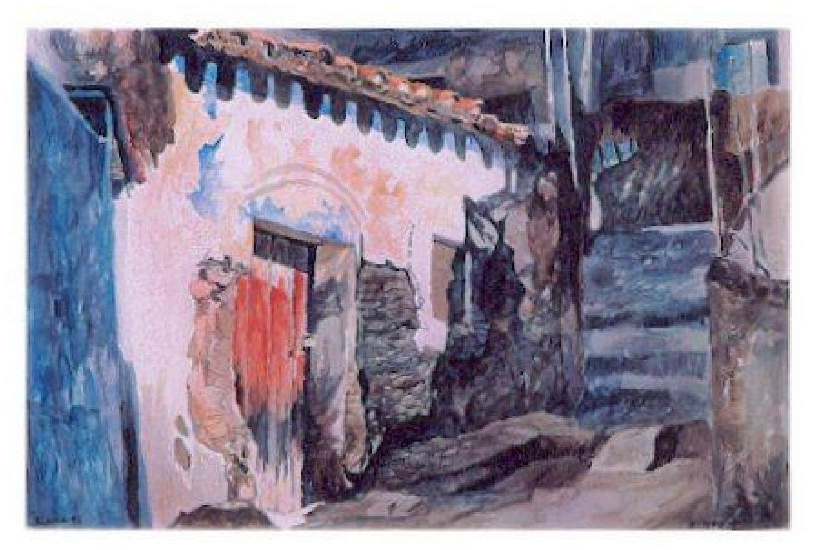
Ancient stone houses near the castle
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

The archaeological excavations in the castle of Blanca (Murcia) done by Johnny de Meulemeester and Jorge A. Eiroa Rodríguez gave us a similar date. As we will observe in their studies, the presence of some fragments of significant ceramic in two of the stratigraphic units identified as levelings of this type allows to establish an approximate chronology of between the mid 12th and the mid 13th century[275].

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[275] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de & EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A.** (2005) *Primera campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el castillo de Blanca (Murcia).* In: *XVI Jornadas de patrimonio histórico, Intervenciones en el patrimonio arquitectónico, arqueológico y etnográfico de la Región de Murcia, Murcia,* pp. 327-328
MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de & EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A. (2006) *Segunda campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el castillo de Blanca.* In: *XVII Jornadas de Patrimonio Histórico. Intervenciones en le Patrimonio Arquitectónico, Arqueológico y etnográfico de la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, pp. 155-156
BAZZANA, André. (2005) *El "hisn", modelo de ocupación y puesta en valor de los territorios andalusíes (siglos IX-XIII).* In: Actas III Congreso Turístico Cultural

Apparently the castle of Negra (Blanca) was not built at the time of the Almoravide dynasty that reigned between 1040 and 1147. The stage of the Islamic occupation of the area could be defined as strictly military and the castle served to control the road between Cieza and Ulea. Unfortunately it was not possible to determine whether the construction of the castle was done in the independent reign of Muhammad ibn Mardanis (1145-1172), who controlled the Region of Murcia against the Almohades. The castle was probably built by the Almohades to break the resistance and rebellion of Mardanis[276] or shortly thereafter.



Ancient stone houses near the castle
Painting: © Kindness of Antonio Yelo Cano

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del Valle de Ricote. Ojós, 25 y 26 Nov. 2005, Abarán (Murcia), pp. 167-201, citation on p. 193

[276] **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2006) *Le Valle de Ricote et le développement des recherches de la Région wallonne à l'étranger.* In: Les cahiers de l'urbanisme, Horse-série Septembre, Mélanges d'archéologie médiévale. Liber amicorum en hommage à André Matthys, pp. 46-55

9.2.1. Old idea: the castle as refuge and defense

Pozo Navarro and Jiménez Granero describe the construction of the castle of Negra (Blanca), and among other things think that the castle of Negra (Blanca) was a refuge for its inhabitants. Here is a brief description from the authors:

> In principle the castle can be dated to the 12th century, having its parallels more evident in some fortifications that dominate the accessways to the capital, this is the castle of the *Asomada* and the castle of p*ortazgo*. In that sense Blanca's castle could also exert a similar function in the communication route that goes back to the river on its left bank (Molina, Ricote) crossing at the height of Blanca towards the right bank to Cieza and Calasparra. The regularity and orthogonal layout which the wall paintings and the three towers of the eastern flank show have their correspondence in the military architecture projected during this period. It is often attributed to the emir Ibn Mardanish under whose government a considerable increase in construction took place that was sponsored by the state in order to prepare the defense of the territory of Murcia. This chronology also seems to be in line with the constructive technique used in the facades that made up its eastern flank: a solid form of lime and chalk mortar. The castle of Blanca in principle seems to respond to the typology of "Islamic hisn" - a fortification that would have served as a point of reference for certain localities, spread by the territory (alquerías) serving as a lookout of permanent vigilance and a zone of refuge to its inhabitants and the cattle at times of instability[277].

It is quite interesting to see from Pozo Navarro and Jiménez Granero's full description that Blanca's castle could have had three levels (floors).

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[277] **POZO NAVARRO, Joaquín & JIMÉNEZ GRANERO, Guillermo** (2010) *Restauración del Castillo de Blanca.* In: XXI Jornadas de Patrimonio Cultural de la Región de Murcia, pp. 135-143. Citation on p. 136



The castle of Blanca before the restoration

9.2.2. The new idea: the castle as control

It was clear that the city of Murcia had a certain influence on the territory of the Ricote Valley. The influence of a city – proposed by the historians to be between 30 and 40km in the Šarq al-Andalus and the Upper Border - depended on many factors: orography, communications, and, as in the case of Murcia, a powerful navigable river that facilitates transit[278].

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[278] **AZUAR RUIZ, R.** (2000) *Ciudades y territorio en el Sharq Al-Andalus*. In: L. Cara Barrionuevo (coord.), *Ciudad y territorio en al-Andalus*. Granada, Athos-Pérgamos, pp. 471-499
SOUTO LASALA, J. A., (2005) El noroeste de la frontera superior de Al-Andalus en época omeya: poblamiento y organización territorial», en J. I. de la Iglesia Duarte (coord.), García Sánchez III "el de Nájera" un rey y un reino en la Europa del siglo XI: XV Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, Tricio y San Millán de la Cogolla del 2 al 6 de agosto de 2004. Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, pp. 253-268. Works cited by:

The following document is proof that the Ricote Valley, thus Blanca, fully depended on Murcia. In this document it becomes clear that in the Almohads' time of Miramamolin the Ricote Valley belonged to the territory of Murcia. Muhammad al-Nasir an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Muḥammad ibn al-Manṣūr, (d. 1213) was the fourth Almohad caliph from 1199 until his death. Contemporary Christians referred to him as Miramamolin. In this respect we may suspect that this was also the case in 1172 when the Almohads entered Murcia and took over the power of Ibn Mardanish, the wolf king.

> **1283. Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Incorporando a su término. los lugares de Molina Seca. Mula, valle de Ricote y demás que habían pertenecido a su jurisdicción en tiempo de moros. Sevilla, 13 de enero de 1283. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Privilegios originales. n.º 46)**
>
> Sepan quantos esta carta uieren et oyeren, como nos, don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios. rey de Castiella, de Leon, de Toledo, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murçia, de Jahen et dei Algarue. Porque los de Molina Seca et de Mula, et del val de Ricot, e de los otros logares que fueron termino de Murcia en tiempo de Miramamolín, poblamos nos et heredamos et fiziemos muchos bienes et muchas merçedes en estos logares sobredichos, porque nos deuien seruir con todo quanto en el mundo ouiessen, et nos deseruieran agora en este tiempo, errando contra nos, teniendose con aquellos que se nos alçaron con la nuestra tierra pora tallernos nuestro poder et nuestro sennorio, por ende, no quisiemos qur lo que ellos auien en estas logares sobredichos ficasse en ellos, mas que tornasse a nos et lo ouiessen aquellos que conusco ficaron et nos seruieron. E agora, por fazer bien et merçed al conceio de Murcia, tan bien a los que agora y son moradores, como a los que seran daqui adelante pora siempre et por muchos seruiçios que nos fizieron et fazen et sennaladamientre en este tiempo que se touieron conusco fazendo lealdat, damosles todos estos logares de suso nombrados que sean su termino et los pueblen et se ayuden et se aprouechen dellos assi como conceio deuen fazer de los logares de su termino. E otorgamosles que los ayan pora siempre bien et complidamientre con todos sus terminos, con montes, con fuentes, con rios, con pastos, con entradas et con salidas et con todos sus derechos et con todas sus pertenençia, quantas ha cada uno destos logares sobredichos et deue auer En tal manera que los no puedan uender ni dar ni enagenar a eglesia, ni a

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FREY SÁNCHEZ, Antonio Vicente (2017) *La percepción del territorio murciano y su medio natural por los geógrafos árabes en la Edad Media (I). Desde la invasión hasta el dominio Almorávide.* In: Mvrgetana, Nº 136, LXVII, pp. 9-36. Citation on p. 12

> orden, ni a omne de religion ni a otro que sea de fuera de nuestro sennorio, ni que contra nos sea ni contra los que regnaren despues de nos en Castiella et en Leon. E retenemos en estos logares sobredichos pora nos et pora !os que regnaren despues de nos, moneda er justiçia et yantar er mineras si las y ha o las ouiere daqui adelante, et que fagan dellos guerra et paz pora siempre por mi mandado. E si otro priuilegio o carta pareçiere daqui adelante que fuesse fecho ante que de este de donaçion de alguno destos logares sobredichos reuogamoslo et mandamos que no uala en ningun tiempo. E deffendemos que ninguno no sea osado de yr contra esta carta pora quebrantarla ni pora minguarla en ninguna cosa, ca qualquier que lo fiziesse aurie nuestra yra et pecharnos y e en coto diez mill morauedis de la moneda nueua, et al conceio sobredicho o a quien su uoz touiesse, todo el danno doblado E porque esto sea firme et estable, mandamos seellar esta carta con nuestro seello de plomo. Fecha la carta en Seuilla, miercoles treze dias andados del mes de enero en era de mill et trezientos et veynte et un annos. MiIlan Perez de Aellon la fiz escriuir por mandado de rey en trcynta et un annos que el rey sobredicho regno[279]. (...)

When the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf (Abu Yusuf Yaqub), son of 'Abd al-Mu'min, and his troops arrived in Murcia, he stayed a whole month in Murcia. Before going into further details it is worthwhile to mention that the Caliph Abd al-Mu'min (1147-1163) could have had the idea to expand his dynasty and ensure the stability by means of having as many sons as possible. His son Abu Yusuf Yaqub (1163-1184) followed his father's idea and had 18 sons, while the grandson Yaqub al-Mansur (1184-1199) had 14 sons[280].

Getting back to Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, he took care to secure the existing fortress and build new ones, as must have been the case in Negra (Blanca). On the other hand governors were sent to the castles[281].

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[279] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1963). Documentos de Alfonso X el Sabio, Codom 1, Murcia.

[280] **EMPEY, Heather J.** (2017) *The Mothers of the Caliph's Sons: Women as Spoils of War During the Early Almohad Period.* In: Concubines and Courtesans. Women and Slavery in Islamic History. Oxford University Press, pp. 149-150

[281] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (1997) *La frontera alternativa: vías y enfrentamientos islamo-cristianos en la mancha oriental y en Murcia.* In: Actas del Congreso la frontera oriental nazarí como sujeto histórico (s. XIII-XVI). Lorca-Vera,

It is clear that the watchtower of Negra (Blanca) which was only an observation post at the time of the Almoravids was no longer suitable for the Almohads. A growing population, the threat of Christian invasion, and the need for independent castles for the collection of taxes required another system of defense and castles. Therefore the state, now in the hands of the Almohads, decided to build its own castle in Negra to have control of the whole of Ricote Valley by its own people. They could work with the Ricote castle, but this would imply that they would have to work with the Muslims of Ricote and their own people, which by the time could pose unforeseen problems.

We have to understand that the Muslims' welcome by the Almoravids in Spain did not last long, as the Bedouin nature of the Almoravids was not proportional to the civil nature of the Spanish cities[282]. As a result of that the Muslims began to revolt against them and call for their return to North Africa. Taking these circumstances into account the Almohads needed their own independent castle.

The Almohads firmly controlled the state institutions and the castle of Negra belonged to it. Therefore the best solution was to work only with its own people and fully and solely control taxes (without the Ricote castle's interference) from Puerto de la Losilla. Where necessary, they used the ulama or the fuqaha elites for their purposes without subjecting them to or imposing the Almohad's ideology on them. In this way they continued the institutions as long this would be in their interest and had full control.

This action corresponds to the phase in which the greater part of the castles was constructed according to the Almohad building programme from the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. The castles with the best preserved Islamic features (Bañeras, Biar, Jijona) all have a *tapia*-wall tower of three floors surrounded by a

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22-24 de noviembre de 1994. Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Diputación de Almería, pp 237-251. Citation on pp. 243-244

[282] With thanks to Prof. Tarek Ladjal of the University of Malaya. Academy of Islamic Studies. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

walled enclosure. The following information from Glick goes in the direction of tax collection instead of protecting the peasantry:

> Arabists have attacked virtually every aspect of Guichard's construction of the social significance of the hisn (plur. husûn). According to Rubiera and Epalza, the husûn were part of a defensive system oriented towards the sea; it failed when the enemy approached from the interior. Thus it was obsolete by the end of the twelfth century, when the Almohads built huge castle-fortresses. They assume that husûn were instruments of central or at least urban power, that they had tax collectors (the 'amîl, fiscal officer of an administrative district, 'amal), serving under a walî living in a city. The hisn's role was as a tax-collecting centre, to control the peasantry, not to protect them, and so the albacar was not a refuge, but rather a place to store the tribute, which was typically paid in kind in the form of livestock. (Although baqar is indeed Arabic for cattle, we need not inevitably expect to find cattle there any more than we would expect to find a ship's pilot in a celoquia.) In this sense the albacar is analogous to the state grain depot, the hury, reflected in place-names like Alforín, Alorín, Alfolí. The albacar was simply a holding pen for cattle; it could not be defensive because of the weakness of the walls and the low height (90cm) of some of them. Moreover, an archaeological survey by Marius Beviá of the hisn of Alicante produced cattle droppings[283]!

According to Pozo Navarro and Jiménez Granero the castle of Negra (Blanca) was similar to the castle of Portazgo[284] that was one of the fortifications of Puerto de la Cadena. The castle of Portazgo is situated in the rambla del Puerto de Cadena, nearby the ancient communication road Cartagena-Toledo cited by Al-'Udri, Al-Bakri, Al-Idrisi, Al-Zuhri, and Al-Himyari[285].

The fact that the castle of Blanca was in Almohad hands and that the castle of Ricote was in the hands of the Spanish Muslims becomes

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[283] **GLICK, Thomas F.** (1995) *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle*. Social and cultural change in medieval Spain. Manchester University Press. Manchester, pp. 23-27

[284] **POZO NAVARRO, Joaquín & JIMÉNEZ GRANERO, Guillermo** (2010) *Restauración del Castillo de Blanca*. In: XXI Jornadas de Patrimonio Cultural de la Región de Murcia, pp. 135-143. Citation on p. 136

[285] **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1988) *Aproximación al estudio de la Cartagena Islámica*. In: *Historia de Cartagena,* V, pp. 193-318

clear when we analyse the year 1228. In that year Ibn Hud, surnamed Al-mutawakkel-‘alaillah (he who relies on God), rose in arms against the Almohads, the African conquerors and rulers of Mohammedan Spain. Ibn Húd caused himself to be proclaimed king at a place called As-sokheyrah [Ricote], in the neighbourhood of Murcia[286]. That Ibn Hud rose in the village of Ricote is confirmed by king Alfonso X[287].

9.2.2.1. The castle of Portazgo in Murcia

Francisco J. Sánchez Medrano and Pilar Vallalta Martínez believe that the date of this castle is between the mid 13th century and the 14th century. They think that the position of the castle of Portazgo together with the natural passage of the Rambla, and the characteristics of the space with the predominance of an open closed patio fenced with sloping base corroborates the character of a building dedicated to the tasks of economic control, collection of rights of way, count of livestock, and spare of posts. It has been considered that the real defensive work would be concentrated in the upper enclosures of the ensemble. The same authors state that if the meticulous "Repartimiento de Alfonso X" does not cite this building, one should realize that it could not have been built by the Muslims. On the other hand, if the documents of the 15th century also do not have it in record, we can infer that at that time the castle was no longer in full use. So we are dealing with some active remains that can be dated between the second half of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth century[288]. Till here the hypothesis of the two authors, but everything points to the 12th and 13th century as we will see.

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[286] **VARIOUS AUTHORS** (1848) *The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge*, Volume II, London, pp. 297-298

[287] **KING ALFONSO X** (1284) *Estoria de España* edited by **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1977) *Primera Crónica General de España*. Editorial Gredos, pp. 721-722

[288] **SÁNCHEZ MEDRANO, Francisco J. and VALLALTA MARTÍNEZ, Pilar** (2015) *Puesto en valor de los restos arqueológicos del Castillo del Portazgo (Recinto inferior)*. In: Verdolay, Nº. 14, pp. 241-258. Citation on p. 256

Juan Eslava Galán[289] gives us full information about the construction material and way of building of the medieval fortification. He dates the walls (tapias) of 0,80m in height between the 12th and 13th century. The detailed study of Indalecio Pozo Martínez[290] also refers to the walls (tapias) of 0,80m in height, the same as some of the canvases existing in the castles of Biar, Mola, Torre Grossa, Sax, or Petrel, the last three ascribed by R. Azuar Martínez[291] to the Almohad period, to the last quarter of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th.

The castle of Blanca was at that time a strong castle and we know that it was only conquered due to lack of water. Consequently it must have been a good defensible castle as was the habit in those years. We have, for example, the following description of the castle of Jativa in those times:

> Desclot says that King James was able to conquer Játiva only by cunning diplomacy. The castle held provisions for three years, its own abundant spring, and a single approach. The approach was so narrow that "twenty men could hold off ten thousand". Nowhere in the world was there "a castle so strong or regal[292]".

9.2.2.1.1. Castle Negra and Portazgo

[289] **ESLAVA GALÁN, Juan** (1984) *Materiales y técnicas constructivas en la fortificación bajomedieval*. In: Cuadernos de estudios medievales, 12-13, pp. 271-278

[290] **POZO MARTÍNEZ, Indalecio** (1988) *El conjunto arquiteconico medieval de "El Portazgo" (Murcia)*. In: Arte y poblamiento en el S.E. peninsular. Antig. Crist. (Murcia) V, pp. 403-423. Citation on pp. 419 and 411

[291] **AZUAR MARTÍNEZ, R.** (1981) *Castellogía medieval alicantina.* Area meridonal. Instituto de Estudos Alicantinos. Dip. Provincial, Alicante, pp. 68, 126, 134, 161 and 170

[292] **DESCLOT:** Llibre del rei En Pere, c. 49. Cited by BURNS, Robert I. & **CHEVEDDEN, Paul E.** (1999) *Negotiating cultures.* Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror. Bril. Leiden, Boston, Köln, p. 64

The word *portazgo* had to do with a toll that was paid for transit. This comes in the direction of my thinking, because according to my hypothesis the castle of Negra (Blanca) was a castle of the state that had to do with the customs office El puerto de La Losilla, as well as to obtain taxes from the peasants in the Ricote Valley. Therefore its daily mission was to control the peasants of the Ricote valley. Consequently some of the officials and their families and other workers started living nearby the castle, which was the beginning of the village of Negra (Blanca).

Catle of Negra (Blanca)	**Castle of Portazgo**
Walls (Tapias) 0,80 – 0,90 m	Tapias 0,80m
Plants: 3	
Tower walls: 0,80 – 0,90 m	
Walls	135 – 140 m
Rampart: 1,50 m	
Wooden beams	
Formwork drawers (box)	2,22 – 2,46 m
Height: 9 m	3 – 6 m

As we know, Haskura Berbers were settled in Murcia[293] by the Almohads after the surrender of the Mardanish family. Everything goes in the direction that the Haskura tribe settled in Negra (Blanca) to control the Portazgo and Muslims of the Ricote Valley.

When the castle was constructed at the end of the 12th century, the population in Negra (Blanca) could never have been the motif for construction. The zone of Aldarache (today Darrax) had its own defense by means of the granary and on the other hand the population, if any, could not have been very high in Negra (Blanca). There must have been another reason for the construction of the castle in Negra (Blanca) and I suspect that the reason was the customs place El puerto

293 **AL-BAYDAQ** (1928). *Documents inédits,* Ed. Lévi-Provençal. Paris, p. 215. Cited by **KENNEDY, Hugh N.** (1996). Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Longman, p. 225.

de La Losilla. In those years people and animals walked through the dry water road (rambla) from this place to the Camino Real nearby the Hermitage (Ermita Nuestra Señora de la Concepción) of the Barrio del café in Blanca, passing the hills because there was no other way for the animals to walk due to the fact that the current road from the highway to Blanca did not exist yet. The route is known today as the dry water road of the bulls (rambla de los toros), because in the 20th century the bulls walked through this way to Blanca for the August bullrunning festivities in the village. So the castle of Negra (Blanca) served to store the tribute that had been paid in kind, since the castle inside the territory was a more discreet and safer place.

On the other hand we see that in 1642 Juan de Molina was a lawyer in Murcia[294]. He had two nicknames: *Juan de Molina el alto* and *Juan de Molina del puerto*. The nickname *del puerto* had to do with the fact that he lived and worked in the customs office El puerto de la Losilla. On 8 March 1627 he married Ana de Vega, a woman whose parents must have been from Blanca. It is rather difficult to find out what was the second surname of Juan de Molina and Ana de Vega because they were children from the expulsion in 1613, thus this is a matter of speculation. His parents were probably expelled or started living in Murcia. Seeing his high education for those years, it is logical to think that he was educated by a Christian family when his parents were expelled. One thing is clear: the parents of Juan de Molina del puerto came from Blanca and Juan was not expelled and had the possibility to study law in Murcia. Seeing his high level of connections[295] he was the perfect man in 1627 for the Commander of the Encomienda Valle de Ricote and the authorities in Murcia to collect taxes in El puerto de

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[294] Legajo 9336, folio 124 (1642) Archivo Provincial de Murcia

[295] Protocolo 9346, folio 36 (1652) Archivo Provincial de Murcia.
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la Losilla. Juan had a horse and could weekly visit the authorities in Murcia to report his activities. He also had his social life in Blanca and knew all the people there.

The opinion of Rubiera and Epalza[296] is in line with my thinking that the castle of Negra (Blanca) was a state castle that had to do with the customs office *El puerto de La Losilla.*

> The Arabists have criticized virtually every aspect of Guichard's explanation[297] of the social meaning of the *hisn.* According to Rubiera and Epalza the *husûn* were part of a defensive system oriented towards the sea, which failed when the enemy came from the interior; it was therefore obsolete by the end of the twelfth century, when the Almohads began to build great fortresses. These authors affirm that husûn were instruments of the central power or, in any case, of urban powers, which were commanded by tax collectors (the *'amil,* official in charge of an administrative district or *'amal*) who served under the orders of a *wali* resident in the city. The function of *hisn* as a collecting center was to control the peasantry and not to protect it. Consequently the Albacar could not be a refuge, but rather a space destined to store the tribute, supposedly paid in kind with the heads of cattle. (Although *baqar*, in fact, is the Arabic word for cattle, we do not necessarily have to find cows in such a place (......)[298].

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[296] **RUBIERA, María Jesús & EPALZA, Míkel de** (1987) *Xàtiva musulmana (segles VIII-XIII).* Xàtiva, Ajuntament de Xàtiva, p. 26

EPALZA, Míkel de (1984) *Funciones ganaderas de los albacares, en las fortalezas musulmanas*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 1, pp. 47-54

[297] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1977) *Structures sociales «orientales» et «occidentales» dans l'Espagne musulmane.* París, Mouton

[298] **GLICK, Thomas F**. (2007) *Paisajes de conquista. Cambio cultural y geográfico en la España Medieval.* Universidad de Valencia, pp. 46-47

[299] **AL-BAYDAQ** (1928) *Documents inédits,* Ed. Lévi-Provençal. Paris, p. 215. Cited by **KENNEDY, Hugh N.** (1996). Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of Al-Andalus. Longman, p. 225

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[300] Legajo 9336, folio 124 (1642) Archivo Provincial de Murcia

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301 Protocolo 9346, folio 36 (1652) Archivo Provincial de Murcia.
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302 **RUBIERA, María Jesús & EPALZA, Míkel de** (1987) *Xàtiva musulmana (segles VIII-XIII).* Xàtiva, Ajuntament de Xàtiva, p. 26
EPALZA, Míkel de (1984) *Funciones ganaderas de los albacares, en las fortalezas musulmanas*. In: *Sharq al-Andalus*, 1, pp. 47-54

303 **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1977) *Structures sociales «orientales» et «occidentales» dans l'Espagne musulmane.* París, Mouton

304 **GLICK, Thomas F**. (2007) *Paisajes de conquista. Cambio cultural y geográfico en la España Medieval*. Universidad de Valencia, pp. 46-47

The castle of Negra (Blanca) had direct contact with the other nearby castles in Ricote and Cieza by means of smoke signals by day and fires by night. There is no doubt that its presence automatically served as a strategic defence for the granary of *Cabezo de Cobertera* and to collect taxes in the Ricote Valley.



View of Blanca from the castle
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

10. THE IRRIGATION SYSTEMS

Ibn Khaldun had a good idea of the requirements to be taken into account for founding a city. As we will see, water is the first necessity, and precisely the first Muslims of Negra (Blanca) correspond to this concept of Ibn Khaldun[305]:

> In order to make it easier for citizens to enjoy the comforts of life it is necessary to take into account a number of issues, and in the first place, water. The city should be located on the banks of a river or in the vicinity of several pure and abundant springs. Water is a matter of first necessity, and its closeness saves a lot of fatigue to the inhabitants to stock the same. It is a great advantage for the public to have water at their fingertips. The city's adjacencies should offer good pasturage: every household head usually has in his house certain domestic animals, for procreation, milk, and saddle. These animals inevitably require pasture, and if this is well available in the vicinity of the city, then this is very comfortable for the inhabitants and would avoid the work of carrying their cattle over long distances. Attention should also be paid to the existence of suitable land for cultivation: cereals constitute the basic food (of men and animals), and if there are farm fields near the city, they would greatly facilitate agricultural work and transport of the grains. The city must also have in its vicinity a forest where it could be supplied with firewood and beams for the constructions. For the forest is a resource that all people need - it is necessary for the combustion, and it is not possible to abstain from the boards to form the roofs of the houses. In addition many utensils of first necessity are made of wood.

We do not know on which date the first inhabitants settled in Negra (Blanca). Nevertheless we can derive an approximate idea of the settlement of the villages when studying the irrigation systems in Blanca and the other parts of the Ricote Valley.

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305 **IBN JALDÚN** (1374-1382) *Introducción a la historia universal (Al-Muqaddimah).* Estudio preliminar, revisión y apéndices de Elías Trabulse. Traducción de Juan Feres. Fondo de Cultura Económica. México, 1977, pp. 617-618



Restored waterwheel in Blanca (Photo: Govert Westerveld)

It was in the tenth and 11th century, the final implementation period of the process of "Orientalization" centuries, when the phenomenon emerged of new rural settlements linked to the design of hydraulic systems that potentiated the development of irrigated agriculture. Sonia Gutierrez Lloret observes that generalization of the waterwheels had begun in the eighth century due to the archaeological dating of contexts where these pieces appear for the first time[306].

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[306] **GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia** (1996) *Acerca del origen de la huerta de Orihuela y la explotación de las zonas húmedas del Bajo Segura entre los siglos VII y XI*. Respuesta a M. Barceló. In: Revista de Arqueología del Área de Historia Medieval. Universidad de Jaén, Nº 3, pp. 37-48. Citation on p. 40

Water-raising machinery was of course known to the Roman agronomists, but they never used it in the Ricote Valley. The so-called "Nilotic" system would be used in the Ricote Valley.

Alfonso Carmona González helps us a little with the first irrigation systems in the region of Murcia, then known as Tudmir. Carmona refers to two authors: ar-Razi and al-Udri[307]:

We owe ar-Razi (d. 955) the first mention of the river Segura, which we find in the Arab texts. The work of this author has only been preserved in works of other authors.

> Tudmir is a highly prized place of very good trees; in all their land they irrigate rivers, just as they do in the land of Promision.

Al-Udri (m. 1085) gives similar details to ar-Razi about the region of Tudmir. Quite interesting is to see that already in the 11th century there were waterwheels (norias) in the Segura:

> They water their land by taking advantage of the waters of a river, in the same way as is done by taking advantage of the Nile in Egypt. This river flows eastwards. Its origin is in the source "M.l.n.h.sa" and the direction taken by its waters is that of Levante.
> Its origin is near *La Fuente*, in "Lantiska[308]" (Alcantarilla), which is where the river of Cordoba comes from, whose waters take the western direction. On the banks of the River Tudmir are the waterwheels that irrigate their orchards.

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307 **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1996) *Quince textos árabes acerca del río Segura.* In: Murcia en los geógrafos árabes. Proyecto (PSH95/92) http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html (1 July 2017)

308 **IBN GALIB** (1955) *L. 'Abdalbadi', "Qit'a min Kitab Farhat al-anfus li-bni Galib".* In: Revue de l'institut des mss. Arabes, 284-285. Cited by **CARMONA HERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2005) *El Valle de Ricote en época andalusí.* In: *Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos".* Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 130

In another study Carmano deals with another author in the 11th century, Al-Bakri, who also copied ar-Razi, because his text is similar to this geographer[309]:

> The birth of the river Tudmir is located near where the river of Cordoba is born - in the zone of K.s.k.k. Its waters flow east, and it ends in the Syrian [Mediterranean] sea. It is a river that encases the mountains in a place known as Ricote (*Riqut*), at a distance of 18 miles from Murcia, in such a way that the man "sucks" it. If it were not for those mountains, the torrent waters would flood Murcia.

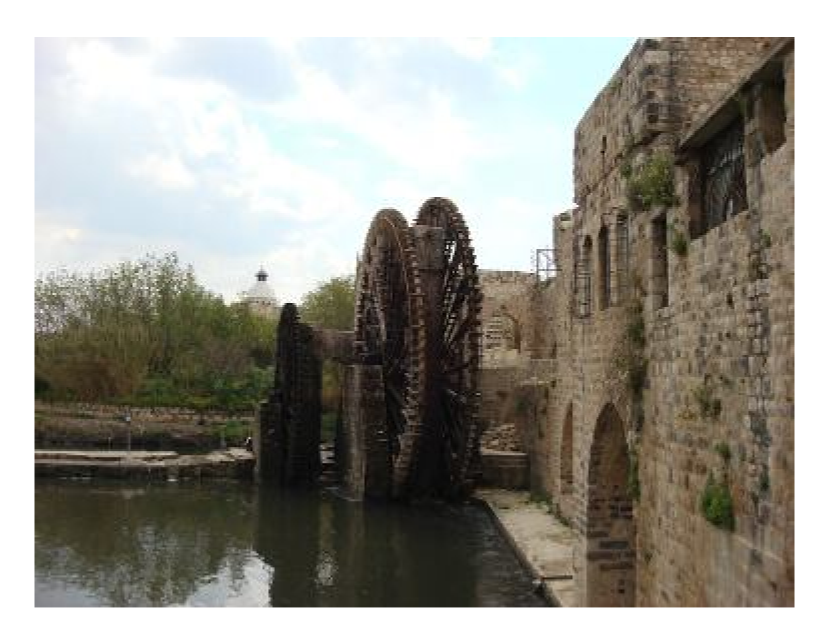
The na'ura (noria) is also a very significant machine in the history of engineering. It consists of a large wheel made of timber and provided with paddles. The large-scale use of norias was introduced to Spain by Syrian engineers.



Candelon's Water Wheel (Abarán)

309 **AL-BAKRI** (1992) *Kitab al-Masalik.* Edition of A. Ferré and A.P. Van Leeuwen. Tunisian, nº. 353. Cited by **CARMONA HERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2005), p. 130

It is obvious to assume that similar situations occurred in the past in the Ricote Valley in the sense that the hydraulic works introduced in the valley came from other countries. Abd al-Rahman I (Damasco, marzo de 731-Córdoba, 788) introduced a new form of farming in Spain that depended on irrigation[310]. It is quite difficult to establish the first date when the Muslims introduced water wheels in the Ricote Valley, but it is reasonable to suppose that they appeared in the 11th or even the 10th century[311]:



Water wheel in Hama (Syria)

The existence of a double network of *acequias* on both banks of the Río Segura allows distinguishing three chronological phases. Phase A corresponds

[310] **ALLEN, Marilyn Penn** (2008) *Cultural Flourishing in Tenth-Century Muslim Spain Among Muslims, Jews, and Christians.* A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the School of Continuing Studies and the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Liberal Studies. Georgetown University, Washington D.C., p. 29

[311] **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1997) *Irrigation Systems of Islamic Origin in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia, Spain).* In: Ruralia II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 152-160. Citation on p. 158

> to the development of the irrigation systems connected to the historically well documented "hydraulic boom" of the 16th century. Phase B is characterised by the reorganisation and reuse of preexisting systems following the consolidation of Christian power in the valley. Finally phase C marks out the Islamic structures the original planning of which can go back to the middle of the 10th century.

However, the archaeologist Pedro Jiménez Castillo argues that there is no reason to deny that the unification of the spaces could be carried out in Andalusian time, as demonstrated by the existence of the great systems of more hydraulics of the Southeast, such as Murcia, Elche, Valencia, or Orihuela, for example, as well as anthropological evidence. Taking into account that in the study of the village of Siyâsa Jiménez Castillo detected the first occurrence of expansion that could be dated to the eleventh century and another in the 12th-13th centuries, he believes that it is reasonable to hypothesise that the second phase detected in irrigation systems could be dated to the eleventh century and the third phase to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries[312].

It is possible that the waterwheel had pots attached to its circumference at the beginning and was powered by the movement of the current. The current of the stream turned the waterwheel, and as the wheel rotated, it lowered the empty pots into the stream where they were filled. As the wheel continued to turn, the filled pots became elevated, emptying their contents into a trough or aqueduct that carried the water away. Then the empty pots would continue down to be filled again.

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[312] **JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro** (2016) *La ciudad y el reino de Murcia durante el siglo XI*. In: Cuando almería era Almriyya. Mil años en la historia de un reino. Instituto de Estudios Amerienses, pp. pp. 151-204. Citation on p. 190

In different places of Spain the Roman irrigation system was replaced by the Islamic one[313]; apparently this was not the case in the Ricote Valley where only the Islamic irrigation system was implanted.

Both the noria and its pot seem to have been related to Syrian prototypes. The most representative noria pot of medieval times had a waisted middle and a knob at the bottom to facilitate lashing of the pot to the noria rope; this style is related to Syrian prototypes. Consequently the origin of the noria of the Islamic Ricote Valley must be regarded as Syrian by inspiration[314]. Glick observes that "The first characteristic of huertas watered by a river such as Valencia, Castellon, Gandia, and Murcia was modeled after the system of the Ghiita, or garden of Damascus"[315].

A system that was given to a Mozarabic population, still tied to an economic system was based mainly on the exploitation of the Mediterranean triad (cereal, grapes, and olives) and where the floodplains along the river took advantage after floods and existing springs. Rural settlements or farmsteads, consisting of dozens of houses, would arise with fully new Andalusian gardens, the fruit of a weir-irrigation ditch, river waterwheel, and reuse of the springs. Now different agricultural activities were exploited. These new agricultural areas were designed and occupied by people with strong genealogical cohesion (Arab or Berber tribes). For authors such as Guichard, Bazzana, and Cressier the eastern territories of al-Andalus, in the rural area in question, were organized around the "hisn", i.e. strength and

[313] **BUTZER, Karl W.; MATEU, Juan F.; BUTZER, Elisabeth K.; KRAUS, Pavel** (1985) *Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?* In: Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 75, Nº 4, pp. 479-509

[314] **GLICK, Thomas F.** (1977) *Noria Pots in Spain.* In: Technology and Culture, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 644-650

SCHIOLER, Thorkild (1973) *Roman and Islamic Water-lifting Wheels*, Copenhagen, pp. 16-25

[315] **GLICK, Thomas F.** (1969) Medieval Irrigation Clocks. In: Technology and Culture, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 424-428

core population that were administratively above the farms or rural villages in their immediate vicinity[316].

Arab engineers took over the water technology of the hydraulic societies of the ancient Near East; they adopted the Greek water wheel as early as the 7th century, an excavation of a canal in the Basra region discovered remains of a waterwheel dating from this period.



Arab Waterwheel. Alcantarilla (Murcia)

We think that Thomas F. Glick[317] is right when he states: "The Christian irrigators of eastern Spain inherited two water measurement systems from the Muslims. The first, characteristic of huertas watered by a river - such as Valencia, Castellon, Gandia, and Murcia - was modeled on the system of the Ghüta, or garden, of Damascus. The river water was divided proportionally among ditches and individuals according to the amount of land to be irrigated. The advantage of the proportional system was that equitable distribution could be assured

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[316] **BAZZANA, A., CRESSIER, P., y GUICHARD, P.** (1988) *Les châteaux ruraux d'al-Andalus. Histoire et Archéologie des husūn du Sud-Est de l'Espagne*. In : Série Archéologie, XI, Publications de la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid. (Personal communication by Jesús Joaquín López Moreno)

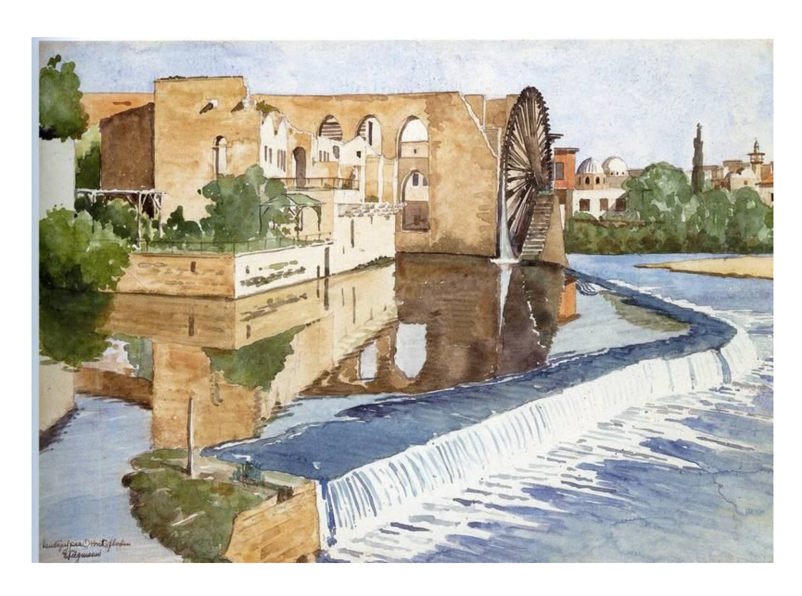
[317] **GLICK, Thomas F. (**1969) *Medieval Irrigation Clocks.* In: Technology and Culture, Vol. 10, Nº 3, Jul., pp. 424-428

without measure of time. When water was abundant, the farmer took it at leisure. When water was scarce, a turn was imposed, and as the quantity of water grew scarcer, the interval between successive turns became longer. As long as the irrigator did not waste water (and there were penalties to insure that he did not), he could only use so much without harming his crops. Therefore the only control needed to insure equitable partition was to see that he did not irrigate again until everyone else took a turn.

Hama in Syria still preserves one of its large waterwheels on the river Orontes, although it is no longer in use. One of the largest wheels had a diameter of about 20 metres and its rim was divided into 120 compartments. Their operation is very simple[318]:

> The river is dammed, except for a small fast-flowing channel only slightly wider than the massive wooden wheels. As water races through the channels it fills open-fronted boxes on each blade of the wheel and simultaneously turns the wheel. The wheel carries the dripping boxes to the top where the water spills out into a stone aqueduct and runs down to the fields or houses below. The system is wasteful, but cheaper and more reliable than pumps, and infinitely more charming. At night, when traffic ceases, the narrow cobbled lanes of the town echo with the creaking music of the massive wooden wheels...

[318] **FITCHETT, Joseph & DEFORD, McAdams** (1973) *A River Called Rebel*. In: Saudi Aramco World, Vol. 24, Nº 3, pp. 12-21



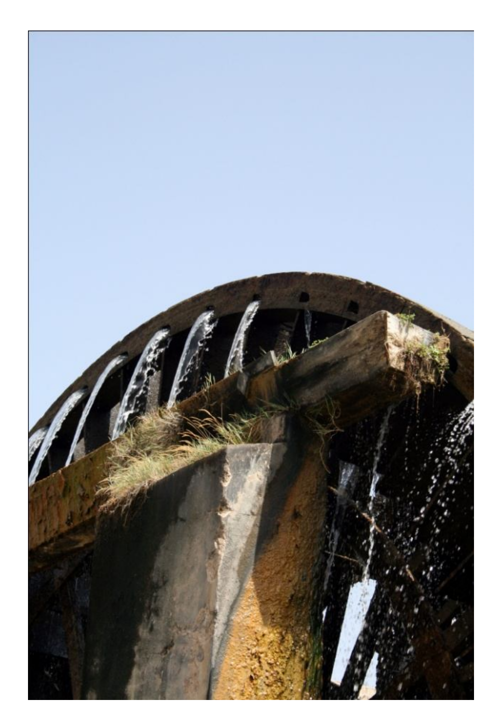
The water wheel al-Mamuriya (Hamar, Syria)
Watercolour by Ejnar Fugmann, year unknown.

Another waterwheel still in operation is in Murcia in Spain, and although the original wheel sometimes has been replaced by a steel one, the Moorish system during al-Andalus is otherwise virtually unchanged. Some medieval Islamic compartmented water wheels could lift water as high as 30 meters. Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi's *Kitab al-Hawi* in the 10th century described a noria in Iraq that could lift as much as 153,000 litres per hour, or 2,550 litres per minute.

The noria, or Arab *anaoura*, is a large waterwheel armed with jars (*alcabuces*) which descend into the well and, as they rise following the motion of the wheel, discharge their contents into a reservoir. There is irrigation by agua de pié (running water) and agua de noria, artefacto, arte as these wheels are called, according to the place where they are utilized.

10.1. The Ricote Valley

A small territory such as the Ricote valley connects rural sites including hamlets and villages, castral sites, and even a small but regionally important town; this territory even shows the existence of a complete hydraulic system. However, nothing permits its chronology to go back to Roman times, and its installations must rather be dated to the "agricultural revolution" of the 10th and 11th centuries[319].



Water of the Noria falling in the ditch
Courtesy of © Ángel Ríos Martínez

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[319] **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1998) *Irrigation Systems of Islamic Origin in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia, Spain)*. In : RURALIA II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 152-160

The medieval settlement and irrigation of the Ricote Valley have been studied by André Bazzana and Johnny de Meulemeester[320]. The policy of the Berbers certainly far surpassed that of all their predecessors in the Murcia region.



An irrigation ditch in Blanca
Courtesy of © Ángel Ríos Martínez

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[320] **BAZZANA André, DE MEULEMEESTER Johnny & MATTHYS André** (1997) *Quelques aspects du peuplement médiéval du Valle de Ricote (Murcie, Espagne)*, in: **DE BOE Guy & VERHAEGHE Frans** (eds), Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe - Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference - Volume 6, I.A.P. Rapporten 6, Zellik, 39-54
BAZZANA André & DE MEULEMEESTER Johnny (1998) *Les irrigations médiévales du Moyen Segura (Murcie, Espagne)*, in: BECK Patrick, L'innovation technique au Moyen Age, Actes du VIe Congrés international d'archéologie médiévale. 1 - 5 octobre 1996. Dijon-Mont Beuvray-Chenôve-Le Creusot-Montbard, Paris, 51-56

They prudently preferred the wealth obtainable from the surface of the earth to that more laboriously and painfully extorted from its bowels and, as they were naturally sober and industrious, both agriculture and commerce prospered under their management. With the system of manuring and irrigation they were perfectly acquainted.

Fortunately the Belgian-French research carried out in the Ricote Valley in the eighties and nineties about the medieval irrigation patters has yielded interesting findings about the possible age of the *acequias* (irrigation canals). Apparently, chronologically speaking, nothing permits us to go to the Roman times. The first network of the low-lying irrigation system of *acequias* on one of the river banks had to do with the 10th and 11th centuries.



Map of Blanca in 1949 with its gardens and main ditch
(Photo: reproduced with the kind permission of
© Town Hall of Blanca)

The canals laid out as festoons seem to be the oldest ones and often cover only a limited surface. Those small 7m wide plots correspond to the layout and dimensions established in other Andalusian regions or Maghrebinian landscapes in the Middle and High Atlas mountains of Morocco[321].



Ditch on the road of Joan Hernandez Pijuan,
nearby the "La Favorita" mansion
(Painting: with the kind permission of ©Zacarías Cerezo Ortín)

Consequently it is quite possible that the first irrigation methods took place in Darrax in the 10th or 11th century. For more complete

[321] **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (1998) *Irrigation Systems of Islamic Origin in the Valle de Ricote (Murcia, Spain)*. In: Ruralia II, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 11, Praha, pp. 152-160. Citation on pp. 155-158

information about the irrigation in this farmstead we have to refer to the different studies done by Jesús Joaquín López Moreno in the past 13 years[322].

10.1. High Atlas

What became a green and rich irrigated plain thanks to the Almoravids in the 11th century, and even more thanks to the Almohads in the 12th and 13th centuries was the origin of only a set of naturally poorly drained lowlands which the wadis, who periodically swept down from the High Atlas, transformed into marshy lands which had delivered wild vegetation formed of thorny jujube, pistachio, dwarf palm, and oleaster. It was in the midst of this inhospitable setting that the Almoravids chose to set up their camp in 1071. In this hostile environment the location was far enough from the low-lying areas of the Tensift and its wet shores; It was, in turn, close to the Wadi Issil,

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[322] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2004) *Una noria en el río Segura (Cañada de Hidalgo, 1604-2004)*. In: P*rograma de Festejos de Abarán*, 2004

LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2005) *Poblamiento beréber en la zona norte del Valle de Ricote: las alquerías andalusíes de Abarán y Darrax*, Actas III Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote. Ojós, 25 y 26 noviembre, 2005, Abarán (Murcia), 355-389

LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2010) *La alquería andalusí de al-Darrax: un despoblado entre Abarán y Blanca (Valle de Ricote)*, Actas I Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán, Abarán, 30 abril/7 mayo, 2010, Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila, Murcia, 25-46

LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2014) *Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote)*, Actas II Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote. Abarán, Blanca y Cieza, 20/27 abril, 2012, Asociación Cultural "La Carrahila", Murcia, pp. 55-99

LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2015) *Las huertas del Valle de Ricote en los periodos mudéjar y morisco (siglos XIII - XVII).* Aproximación a través de la arqueología hidráulica», en **ORTEGA, D., VINCENT, B. y ABAD, J. M.** (editores), *Historia e historio-grafía de la expulsión de los moriscos del Valle de Ricote*, Vestigios de un mismo mundo, 9, Universidad de Murcia, pp. 175-218

who gathered and assembled the waters usable both for the defense of the future city and for agriculture[323].

10.1.1. El Kelâa des Sraghna

Let us concentrate on the village of El Kelâa des Sraghna and the surrounding areas of the Sraghna tribe. The development of agriculture in this region is very old, from the Almohad period in the twelfth century; the latter authorized one of their Haskura tribes to populate the region, and they undertook the construction of a series of irrigation canals, the most famous being Yakoubia seguia[324].

This means that the Haskura tribe had great experience in the construction of irrigation canals and this tribe was used by Yaqueb al-Mansur, who reigned from 1184 to 1199, for the irrigation of state lands as observed by Louhmadi[325]:

> Under the leadership of Yaqub al-Mansur in the 12th century the Bahira plain was the subject of a major agricultural project with the construction of the Yakoubia seguia for the irrigation of state lands in the northern part of the country. Tassaout basin (northeast of Marrakech).

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[323] **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2009) *La noria, l'aubergine et le fellah*. Archéologie des espaces irrigués dans l'occident musulman médiéval (9e-15e siècles). Ghent University, p. 348

[324] http://tribusdumaroc.free.fr/sraghna.php

[325] **LOUHMADI, B.** (1999) *L'aménagement d'un espace agricole à l'époque almohade: la seguia Yaqoubia au 12e siècle. Almohade water managements in the Yakoubia seguia in the 12th century.* In: Archéologie islamique (Paris) A., vol. 8-9, pp. 95-118

See also: **BAZZANA, André & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2009) *La noria, l'aubergine et le fellah*. Archéologie des espaces irrigués dans l'occident musulman médiéval (9e-15e siècles). Ghent University, p. 350

Ibn Khaldun, referring to other genealogists, gives a list of the great branches of the Sanhaja. We find, on the same rank, Telkata, Lemtuna, Messufa, Gueddala, and Heskura[326].



An irrigation ditch in Ait Bouguemez of High Atlas[327]

Berber village communities still live according to a code of customary law known as *Kanun* that deals with all questions of property and persons. The family unit traces its descent from a single ancestor, preserving its cohesion by the sense of solidarity that unites its members; an injury to the honour of one affects the group.

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[326] **IBN KHALDOUN**, Trad. De Slane, T. 2, p. 3.. Cited by **LAZAREV, Grigori** (2013). Quelques hypothèses sur les dynamiques de peuplement du Rif Occidental. In: Revue la Critique Économique, Nº. 30. Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Économiques de Rabat, pp. 1-28. Citation on p. 10.
[327] Atbir Hammou: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDD9Ks8kJzc

10.1.2. Terraces

A walk along the mountain slopes to visit irrigation systems, home gardens, and terraces characteristic of Tachelhit (Berber) mountain agriculture.



Terraces in Aït Hsayn, in the High Atlas,
(Photo: Thierry Milherou[328])

We also find terraces in the Ricote Valley and Blanca. One cannot forget the variety of those excellent fruits with which the Ricote Valley to this day abounds, which they cultivated with great skill and brought to the greatest perfection.

It is still difficult to state exactly when husbandmen started cultivating fruits in Ricote and the other villages of the Ricote Valley - Abarán, Negra (Blanca), Ojos, Ulea, and Villanueva de Segura. With respect to the most ancient town of Ricote of the Ricote Valley research determined that terraces in Ricote were built between 706 and 778

[328] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ThiMil_Hsayn.jpg

A.D. These constructions were undertaken by some of the first Arabic-Berber tribes entering the Iberian Peninsula.

Arnald Puy Maeso wrote a doctoral thesis about the construction of the first Andalusian terraces of Ricote[329]. He based his writings on an earlier doctoral thesis of José María García Avilés[330]. The traditional irrigated terraces in the orchard (huerta) of Ricote provided organic matter with a median probability age of 706 A.D. (647-778 A.D.) according to the corresponding analysis methods. Initially it was thought that these figures could imply that the construction of the first terraces at Ricote was carried out at a very early date[331]. However, strangely enough, another study of Puy Maeso[332] suggests that the Andalusi irrigated terraced cluster of Ricote was likely constructed later - between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 13th centuries AD.

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[329] **PUY MAESO, Arnald** (2012) *Criterios de construcción de las huertas andalusíes. El caso de Ricote (Murcia, España).* Tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

[330] **GARCÍA AVILÉS, José María** (1999) *Una sociedad agraria en tierras de la Orden de Santiago: El Valle de Ricote (1740-1780)* Tesis doctoral (Cum Laude) en la Universidad de Murcia

GARCÍA AVILÉS, José María (2000) *El Valle de Ricote: fundamentos económicos de la Encomienda Santiaguista, 1740-1780*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio

[331] **PUY MAESO, Arnald & BALBO, A.L.** (2013) *The Genesis of Irrigated Terraces in Al-Andalus. A Geoarchaeological Perspective on Intensive Agriculture in Semi-arid Environments (Ricote, Murcia, Spain).* In: Journal of Arid Environments, Vol. 89, pp. 45-56

[332] **PUY, Arnald; BALBO, Andrea L.; BUBENZER, Olaf** (2016) *Radiocarbon Dating of Agrarian Terraces by Means of Buried Soils*. In: Radiocarbon, January (Pending)

10.1.3. Irrigation and water time

In the valleys of the Atlas Mountains there is a complicated irrigation system that requires the help of the entire community to control. The long valley of fields is irrigated by water that comes from the river to small streams that run through the terrain. In a long valley lined with field plots families will not always have plots next to each other. So when a family buys a piece of land they also buy water time. Therefore when a member of a family inherits the land they also inherit the water. The water comes from the river to streams that have been created to irrigate the land. Each plot of land has a passage from the stream to the land. When the water arrives on one plot of land, the community starts to count down the farmer's water time. When the land is irrigated, the farmer opens the stream for another person's plot and the clock stops. However, the farmer's work is not finished. He still has another plot further down the valley. So the farmer waits for the water to arrive at his other plot and the clock starts again. Of course, it is important not to take too much time on one plot, because you will be taking water away from your other plots. Therefore farmers have figured out how to speed up the irrigation of one plot to gain water time for their other plots[333].

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[333] www.mistraltravel.com

11. COMMUNITY USES

In the Spain of the Arabs society was sharply divided along ethnic and religious lines with the Arab tribes at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the Berbers who were never recognized as equals despite their Islamization. It is true that the defining aspects of the Berber identity can be found in their language, but apart from their language are there no other means to trace the Berber origin in Blanca? Did the Berber governments of Almoravids and Almohads not leave traces in the culture of Blanca?

Throughout the centuries Blanca has always been a small village and we have only seen drastic change in the habits in the last 50-100 years due to the velocity of new communication factors. Then they lived as the Berbers today: no computers, television, iPods, cars, nor any other trappings of our modern lives. Their world seemed much as it might have been hundreds of years ago.

I remember an event from many years ago. Somebody in Blanca called me, but I still had not conquered the Spanish language, and the the person in question made a sign constantly moving his four fingers and hand that meant “come here”. I did not understand the sign, because I had never seen it in my country.



On the other hand I have observed the same habits in the High Atlas as there are in Blanca and not in my country, thus it is clear that there

must still be a relationship between the Berbers and the village of Blanca. However, detecting them will not be an easy job and therefore I wrote this chapter to open the reader's eyes. Hopefully in future people will observe more in this sense, because I feel that there is still much to be discovered.

The Berbers in the High Atlas had meeting places to guarantee their social life, survival, and business relationships with others. Consequently we see various squares, mosques, madrass, hamman (bathhouse), entrances, fonduc (guesthouse), souk (zoco), cemeteries, collective granaries, community stables, threshing cereals, grain and oil mills, as per the orientation of Gil Piqueras[334].

Most of these uses were taken over by the new rulers in order not to interfere too much in the daily life of the community uses and habits of the Berbers and inhabitants of Negra (Blanca).

11.1. Square

In Blanca we have the church square in front of the church.
For the Berbers a square consists of a space inside the ksar next to the entrance. Other streets could arise from the square, giving access to the different services of the ksar. A ksar is a fortified village often built in a specific location; a hill, a cliff, above a rocky wall, or on top of an oasis.

11.2. Mosque

In 1505 Pope Julius II accepted the transformation of mosques into churches[335]. This means that the mosque of Negra (Blanca) had a great square, as we see today.

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[334] **GIL PIQUERAS, Teresa** (2014) *Arquitectura de tierra en el Alto Atlas*. Del oasis de Mdagra al Valle de Outat. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Politècnica de València, pp. 207-214

[335] 1508 - Marzo - 15. Burgos.- Letras ejecutoriales de D. Martin Fernández de Angulo, Déan de Jaén y juez-comisario, por las que da cumplimiento a lo dispuesto en la bula de Julio II, 23-VIII-1505, que se inserta, en relacion con la erección y

11.3. Madrass

Young boys received their education from the marabout in the High Atlas. We suppose that this work was done in Muslim Negra by a similar person and then taken over by the first priest in Blanca, Hernando de Roca[336], from the year 1507.

11.4. Bathhouse (Hamman)

So far we know that there was no bathhouse in Negra (Blanca). The river was probably used for washing one's body. On the other hand Blanca also had 3 or 4 fountains near the square and mosque.

One was near Frutas de Levante street and the town hall, in front of Heladería Paco.
One was on the corner of Luisique de Yuste, near where Picardas had the shop. Thus at the intersection of Pedro Portillo street and Generalisimo street.
One was in Boleras street near the Panadería la Francesa S.L.
One was in el Hundio, known today as Barrio Nuevo.

One was near the intersection of Ortega y Gasset street and Generalísimo street - at the place where we still had the monolith of General Franco in 2016.

The fountains in Spain as in the East are the meeting and greeting places of womankind; here they flock, old and young, infants and

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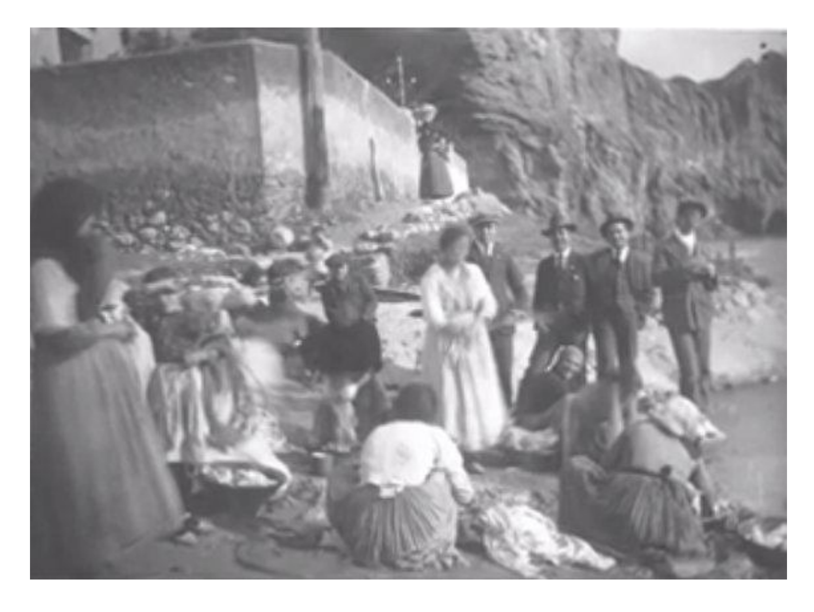
provisi6n beneficial de las iglesias parroquiales del Valle de Ricote (Blanca, Abarán, Ojos, Ulea) perteneciente a la encomienda de la Orden Militar de Santiago. (A.H.N. Ord. Mil. Uclés, Carp. 293, N.O 8; Perg. original)

[336] Visita de 1507. (AHN, OO.MM., Lib. 1072c, fols. 344-348; En: Excma. Diputación Provincial-Murcia. Archivo Histórico. - Servicio de Microfilm, rollo N.º 2)

grandmothers. It would seem that to draw water is a difficult operation, so long are they lingering near the sweet fountain's rim.

11.5. Collective laundry

If there was a river in the village of High Atlas, then a bundle of women would wash their clothes there. The Muslims of Negra (Blanca) and later the Christian habitants washed their clothes in the river Segura for centuries.

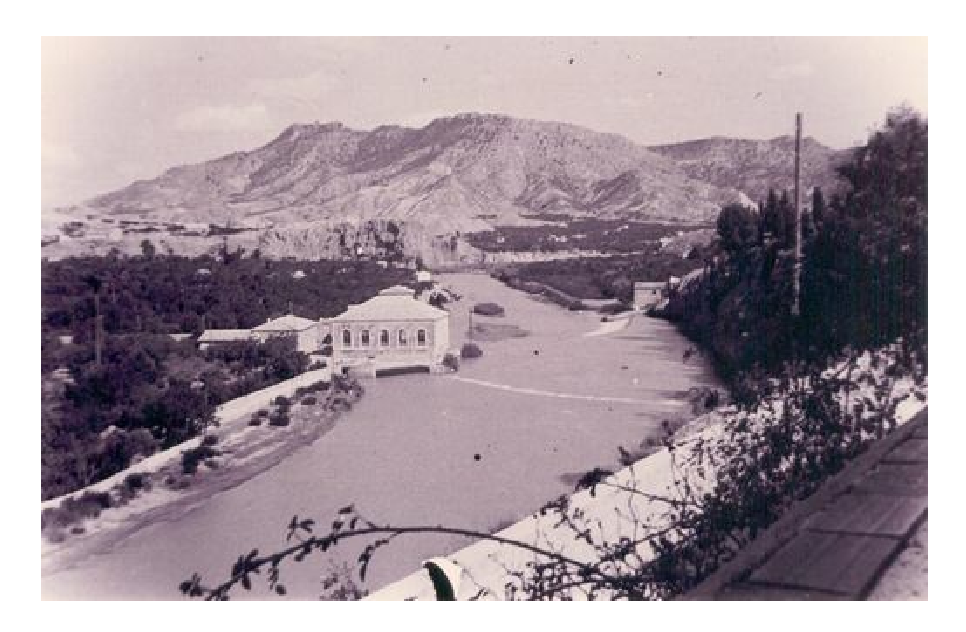


Women of Blanca washing their clothes at *Las Pocicas*

A proof of this is the place where the women of Blanca washed their clothes. This place was known as Las Pocicas and it was situated where we now find the park of Las Cuevas, near the end. The women went the way that existed next to the ancient *Central Hidráulica* built in 1920.

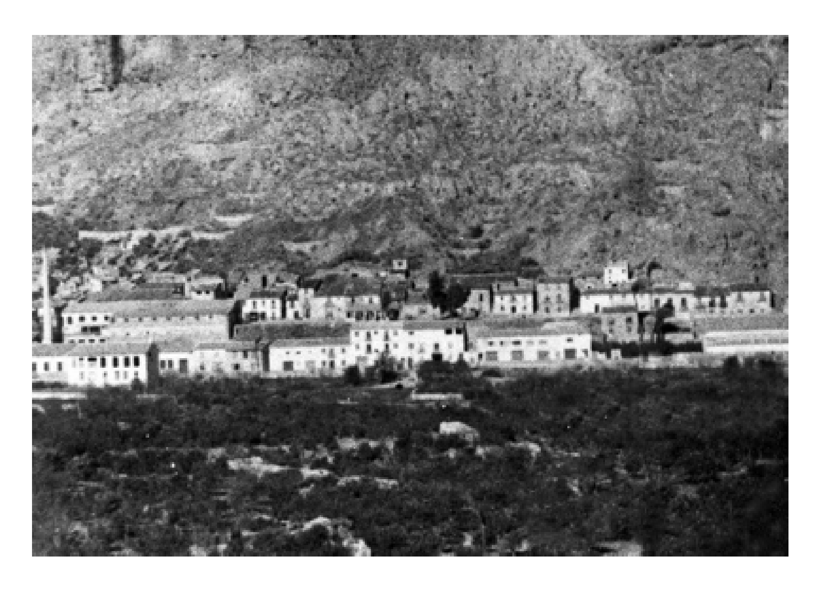
In its interior it still conserves the hydraulic turbine of the *Francis* type which produced electrical energy for the municipality of Blanca thanks

to the water from the river as motor power. In those years Blanca was the first town of the Region of Murcia that had electric light. The *Central hidráulica* was restored and turned into a museum called *Museo y Centro de interpretación del Agua y de la Luz.* In it resides Blanca's tourist office, as well as the *Centro de interpretación de la Naturaleza.*



Ancient photo of the *Central hidráulica* of Blanca

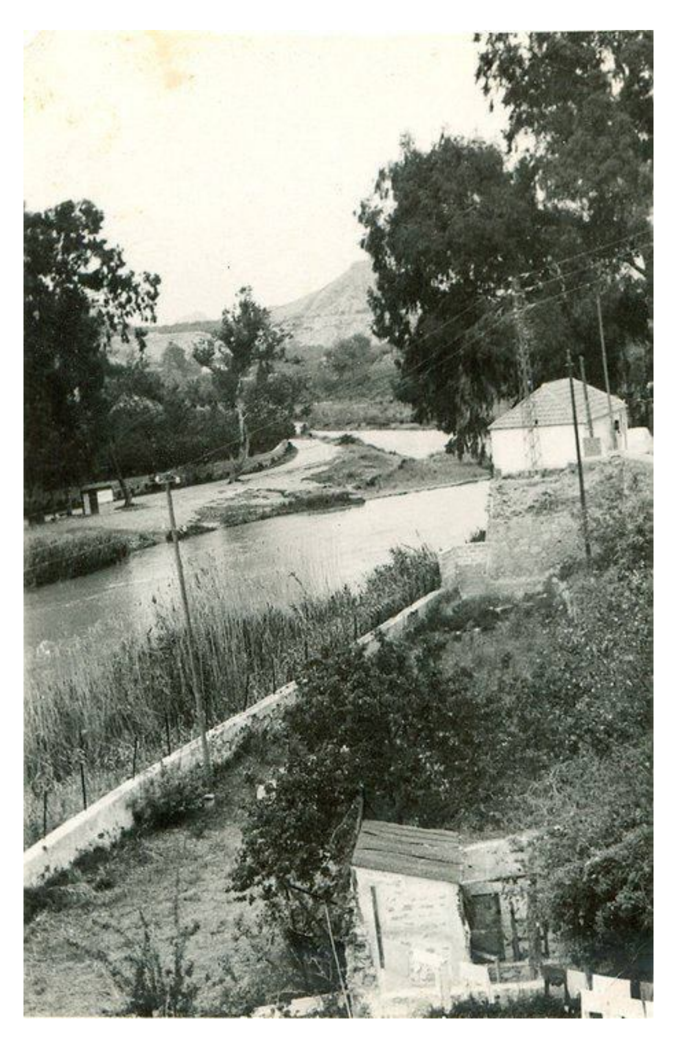
In the 20th century Blanca had two public launderettes. One was situated approximately at the intersection of the streets Barrio Nuevo and de Gran Vía. The other public launderette is still at a place called Las Excanales. Today we find a copy of what it was like before. The water came from the main ditch acequia (*acequía* principal) of Blanca, born in the Menjú. The water circulated and ended up falling into the river. Since there were a lot of women who wanted to wash, they would get to their places early, because the first ones had cleaner water that just had entered the launderette.



Vista parcial de *Barrio Nuevo* (El Calvario), al fondo el lavadero. (Gentileza de José María Molina Galera)

The function of these collective launderettes apart from washing clothes and other utensils and women bringing wooden slabs or scrapers, soap, basins, etc.) was to speak about news or events that occurred in the town or surrounding area. Finally, it is logical that certain expressions were born in these launderettes, such as “washing dirty rags” (*lavar los trapos sucios*) in relation to criticizing others and "”there are clothes lying” (*hay ropa tendida*) as a warning that you could not speak in front of a particular person or a child[337].

337 http://www.lavaderospublicos.net/p/buscar-lavaderos-en-mapa.html



Laundry of *Los Excanales* in Blanca
Photo: José Luis Laveda Molina

11.6. Gate

Negra (Blanca) must have had a gate. We observe such a gate near the castle of Blanca. The walls of the initial town of Negra (Blanca)

probably enclosed the village[338]. It is logical to suppose that the initial town must have had a gate, which is unknown today.



Ancient gate to the castle of Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

11.7. Fonduc

A *fonduc* is a building with one or two rooms that served as shelter and accommodation for travelers and merchants who passed along the trade routes. In ancient times the hospital of Negra (Blanca) had a similar function.

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338 **CANO GONZÁLEZ, Ángeles** (2003) *Arquitectura domética de Blanca.* In: II Congreso turístico cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos". Blanca, 14, 415, 16 de Noviembre de 2003. Blanca, pp. 349-376. Citation on pp. 356-357

According to Enrique Gutierrez Morfin's studies in the fourteenth century the taverns and inns [in Europe] that offered lodging, food, and drink were a consolidated fact[339]. However, the history of Claude de Bronseval, secretary of the abbot of Claraval Dom Edme de Salieu, is very different for Spain in May 1532. Bronseval described his big voyage in Castile indicating that they did not find food in practically all the inns that had visited[340]. Consequently the situation in the 12th and 13th centuries must have been worse.

This general rule for Christian Spain cannot be applied to (traditional) Muslim places where hospitality was a general rule at the time and where the habitants – as is still the case in Blanca – gave their best food they had to the guests. There must always have been a place for the quests to sleep, although the habit was that men shared the rooms for sleeping. Hospitality was taken very seriously for centuries since the Ricote Valley was the sleeping place for the Muslim travellers from Granada to the Muslims in Valencia.

11.8. Souk

Souk is the weekly Berber market in the High Atlas. A similar zoco or market was probably known in the Ricote Valley, because there was already a Muslim market in Murcia in 1267[341]:

> Otrosy, queremos e mandamos quel mercado e la feria sean a la puente allende el rio, porque seran en mas comunal lugar or razon de los moros.

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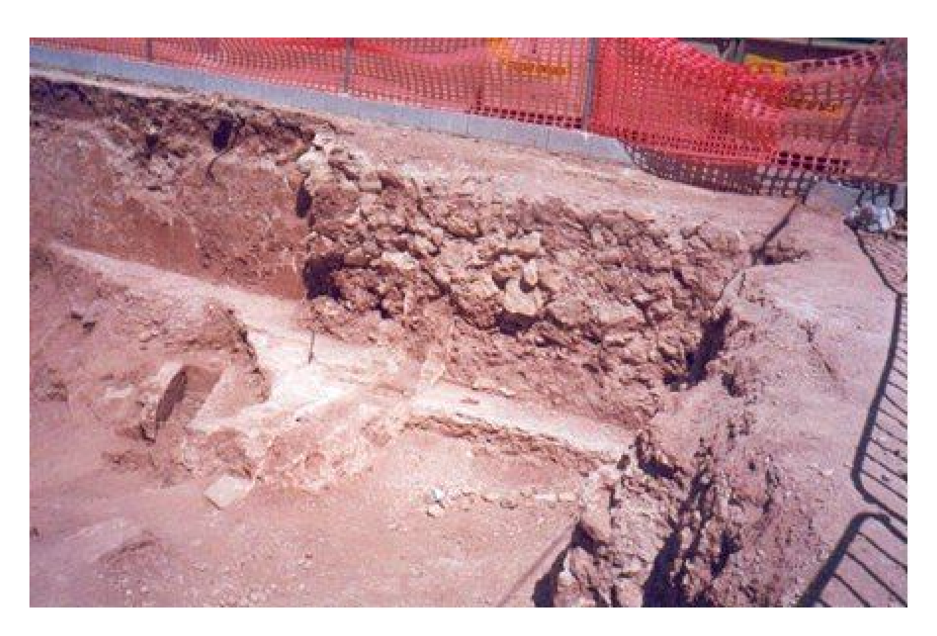
339 **GUTIERREZ MORFIN, Enrique** (2004) *Diagnóstico de las necesidades de capacitación de los barman de los hoteles de cinco estrellas de Toluca y Metepec*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad autónoma del Estado de Mexico. See chapter 1.1. of his dissertation

340 **BODELÓN, Serafín** (2011) *Bronseval: posadas y caminos en Castilla en el siglo XVI según "La perenigratio hispania"*. In: Tiempo y sociedad, Núm. 4, pp. 47-80

341 Privilegio de Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Confirmando los privilegios anteriores y otorgándoles otros nuevos. Jaén, 18 de mayo de 1267. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Libro de privilegios, fols. 11r. - 14r.) (Puerto de La Losilla)

11.9. Cemetery

The cemetery in the High Atlas is situated nearby the warehouses and in some cases it will be found in front of the main entrance. Generally burials are done into the ground.



The Berber cemetery in Negra of the 13th century.
At the bottom is the pit found in 2001

A Muslim cemetery[342] of Negra found in 2001 is just at the end of a section between Calle Mayor, Calle Pinar, and Calle Villar (popularly known as Calle Calcetín). The cemetery is outside the wall in Calle Villar. The high walls served as a defensive element of the village[343]. These essential spaces in any human settlement were usually located on the outskirts of towns and along the access roads. In the case of

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342 **MOLINA MOLINA, José María** (2001) *Intervención arqueológica de urgencia en el solar de la Calle Generalísimo No. 13 (Blanca).* In: I jornadas sobre historia de Blanca, pp. 93-99

343 **CANO GONZÁLEZ, Ángeles** (2003) *Arquitectura domética de Blanca.* In: II Congreso turístico cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos". Blanca, 14, 415, 16 de Noviembre de 2003. Blanca, pp. 349-376

Negra (Blanca) the *maqbara* was next to the old road that joined Negra (Blanca) with *Puerto de la Losilla*. Before the change of the name in 2016 this street was called *Calle Generalísimo Franco*, and in the past known as *calle Mayor*, where some random archeological treasures had been found in the summer of 1999. Works of renovation of the sewage network, mainly human remains more abundant in the proximities of the crossing with the street known as *calle Portillo*[344].

[344] **RAMÍREZ ÁGUILA, Juan Antonio & MOLINA MOLINA, Jesús María** (2005) *La alquería medieval de Blanca (Negra): una propuesta interpretativa a través de la arqueología del paisaje.* In: Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos". Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 143-166. Citation on p. 157



Dead end behind the church, next "Travesia Iglesia" street. (Photo: Govert Westerveld)



The street called: “Calle Castillo”
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



The street called: “Calle Castillo”
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)



C = Cemetery between Calle Villar and Calle Pinar;
Another C = Cemetery nearby Calle Pedro Portillo

The main ditch or *acequia mayor* of Negra (Blanca) runs parallel to and below the old road from *Puerto de la Losilla* to Murcia today (till 2016) incorporated into the urban plot as streets of *Queipo de Llano* and *Generalissimo.* In 2016 these two and other streets changed their names due to the law of historical memory (*Memoria Histórica*) of 2007.

11.10. Collective granaries

The Berbers had a collective granary in the High Atlas. The collective granary of Negra (Blanca) was situated in Darrax and the corresponding pages of this book give full details of this granary.

11.11. Community stables

Normally the horses and other animals live with the Berber family. However, in greater places or fortified cities (kzour) community stables were common in the High Atlas.

Blanca probably also had community stables for the horses and mules in the ancient times. On the other hand there must also have been stables for visitors' horses and mules, probably nearby the *fonduc.*

11.12. Threshing cereal

In the High Atlas a trunk vertically nailed to the ground is observed in an esplanade near the ksar. A donkey or mule tied to the trunk turned on a bed of straw. In this way the cereal was gradually separated from the chaff.

Between 1430 and 1440 the Muslims of Blanca and Abrán sold a lot of wheat and firewood to the inhabitants of Murcia[345]. The arid and dry character of the land surrounding the river Segura nearby Darrax probably made them suitable for growing cereals. There is no doubt that they had known for centuries how to thresh the cereals.

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345 **VEAS ARTESEROS, María del Carmen** (1986) *La Hacienda Concejil Murciana en el siglo XV (1423-1482).* Tesis publicada en microficha
VEAS ARTESEROS, María del Carmen (1992) *Las relaciones económicas entre Murcia y los mudéjares del Valle de Ricote en el siglo XV*. Notas para su estudio. IV Simposium internacional de Mudejarismo: Economía, Teruel. pp. 400-401
ABELLAN PEREZ, Juan (1980) *El comercio cerealistico en Murcia durante la primera mitad del S. XV*, Murgetana, 59, Murcia, p.109

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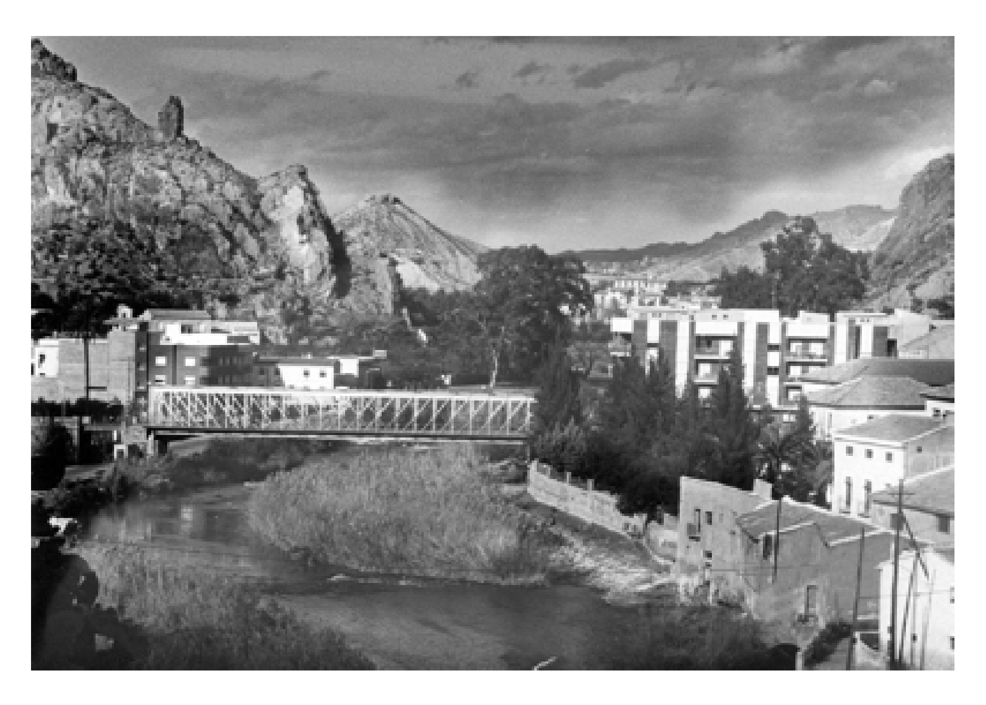
Threshing the wheat in Blanca in the 20th century
(Photo: © José María Molina Galera)

11.13. Grain Mills

The Valle of Outat in the High Atlas has great irrigation systems and water control. Through small hydraulic installations the water of the river Outat, an affluent of the river Moulouya, is organized by forming large networks of irrigation ditches that supply water to the fields. They also have flour mills and even an oil mill.

In the 16th century Blanca had its own grain mill for the inhabitants. However, the notary of Blanca Pedro Cachopo had his own laws in the 16th century. At the time all the residents of Blanca put their wheat in turn in the mill of the Commander of Saint Jacob's Order for grinding. However, when notary Cachopo's servants arrived, they did not

respect turns, even when the turn was an alderman's. The servants ordered the miller to take out the alderman's wheat of the hopper and throw Cachopo's wheat in for grinding. And if any alderman or resident protested, Cachopo would arrange to destroy them[346].

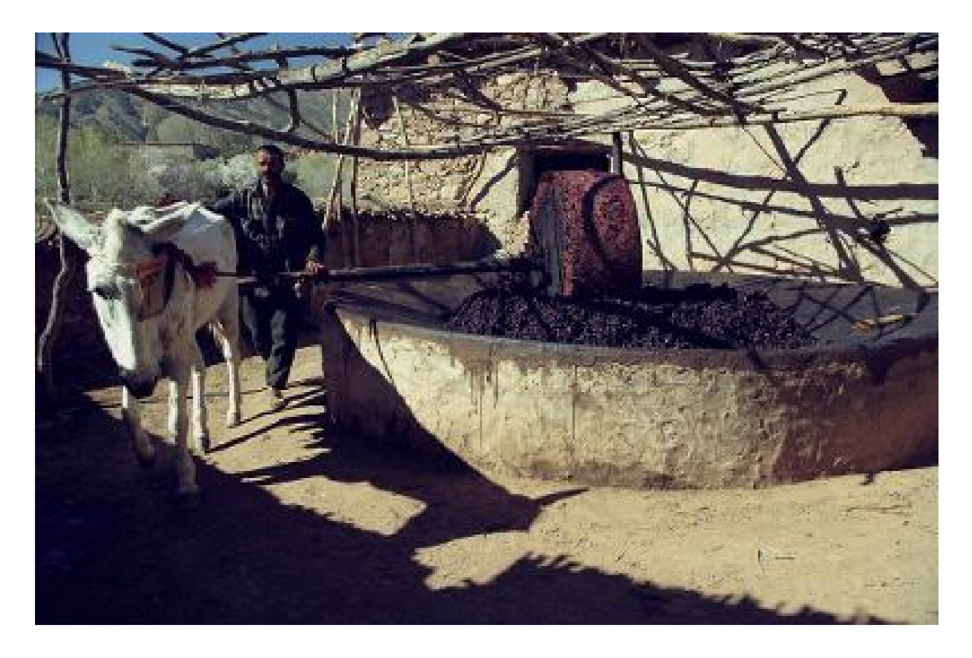


General view of the bridge; on the right bank the mill.
(Photo: © José María Molina Galera)

[346] Archivo General de Simancas, Expedientes de Hacienda, legajo 371, fol. 17; En Archivo General de la Región de Murcia, Rollo 13, documentos 14 al 29. Proceso de Pedro Cachopo

11.14. Oil Mills

In 1507 the village of Ojós had an olive grinding mill of the Commander of Saint Jacob's Order for obtaining oil[347] for the inhabitants.



The olive grinding mill in High Atlas
(Photo: Jerzy Strzelecki – CCA 3.0)

In the High Atlas the process of oil extraction begins with movement by animal traction of a vertical grinding wheel on a base. In the past the inhabitants worked with a vertical trunk to which another is coupled horizontally. Today these wooden trunks have been replaced by metal bars.

347 A.H.N., OO.MM., sign. 1072 C (rollo 2 A.G.), ff. 157v.-159r.

12. COMPARING BERBER HABITS

So far I have not seen anything about the comparisons of the Berbers' customs to those of the Spanish, but I think that this is something we also should take into account if we want to know the origin of a village. In this chapter I give only a few examples and the truth is that I am in a more favourable position to do so than the Spaniards themselves since I also know some of the northern customs. It is therefore easier for me to see the similarities between the Berbers and the population of Blanca, because in more than one case I never encountered some of the costoms in my country.



Berber woman
Photo: by courtesy of © Jess, 2009

For example, in the photo above I immediately see a small chair like I have never seen in Holland and can say the same about the pottery. As stated before, I only give some examples, but it is clear that a full study of this is needed to much better reveal the similarities.

12.1. Transport

It is true that life in Blanca has changed a lot over the past 40 years, but we still have some photographs of this period showing that many ways of life are the same as or similar to those still alive in the the High Atlas.



Cattle fodder collected from terraces in the High Atlas Mountains. (Photo: reproduced with the kind permission of ©Bernadette Montanari, 2008)

In ancient times the inhabitants of the valley in the High Atlas had the freedom to access the land for their personal needs, e.g. harvesting medicinal plants and collecting wood for cooking and building. An autonomous system of Berber customary law known as jama'a regulated rights of access to land for grazing, forests, and water. The traditional Jama'a constitution was a flexible system with a complete integration of decisions and actions within the cultural and political

life of community[348]. Today the Berbers use the collective designation "Imazighen" (singular is Amazigh - free men and women).



Farmer bearing animal fodder collected in Ricote
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

The Berbers of the High Atlas are using a mule or a donkey for transport of their articles, fruits, vegetables, and other products. About 50 years ago it was normal to see mules in the streets of Blanca. I still remember an old woman dressed in black who came to Blanca from the Alto Palomo neighbourhood with her donkey every day. Logically this has been substantially changed thanks to the prosperity of the country.

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348 **MONTANARI, Benedette** (2013) *The Future of Agriculture in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco: The Need to Integrate Traditional Ecological Knowledge.* In: The Future of Mountain Agriculture, Springer Geography. Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, pp. 51-72. Citation on p. 56. She refers to the work of:
ID BALKASSM H (2002) *Justice and Indigenous Peoples in the World.* Answers to the questions of the United Nations. Special Reporter in charge of following the violation of human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples in the world. Justice and Amazigh People of Morocco. Tamaynut Association, Rabat, Morocco.



A donkey in Blanca with big baskets for carrying food

Today it is a rarity to see a mule in the streets of Blanca. About 45 years ago I witnessed little old women or old widows painfully walking with firewood on their backs in the church square. Today we do not see it anymore, as the social facilities have changed a lot in Spain and they now receive sufficient money from the government for buying foods and clothes.



Women in the High Atlas

On the contrary, the situation for old Berber women and widows in the High Atlas remains very hard. They still have to work daily for their food and clothes.

12.2. Music

The region of Murcia, origin of the latter, as it appears from the Valencian School, under the leadership of patron of the arts Ibn Mardanis (1147-1172) known in Christian sources as the Wolf King and character who exercised control of Xarq al-Andalus for three decades (1147-1172) as governor of Murcia and Valencia. He is known for the parties he organized in his palace in which a true Cenacle of scholars, poets, musicians, and singer slaves (*qiyan)* came together, Ibn Mardanis was famous for having one of the most numerous orchestras *(sitarat)* of al-Andalus and parties to which

Muslim emirs from other courts as well as high dignitaries of Christian courts[349] were often invited.

I will shortly indicate some of the musicians we detected during my research:

12.2.1. Ibn Al-Haddad

Murcia had various musicians in the 11th century. One of them was Ibn al-Haddad (1030-1088) who was a man of letters, philosopher, mathematician, and Arab-Hispanic musician who distinguished himself as a poet, music theorist, composer, and great lute player. He left his hometown Guadix very young to undertake the required pilgrimage to Mecca, although apparently he did not reach his destination because he fell in love with a religious nun from the monastery of Asyut in Upper Egypt. The Christian nun rejected his love, so Al-Haddad returned to Al-Ándalus as secretary of King Taifa Al-Mu'tasim of Almeria. Later on, differences would arise with the sovereign of Almeria which took him to Murcia and, in June of 1069, to the taifa of Saragossa where he landed in the service of Al-Muqtadir and his son Al-Mu'tamin.

12.2.2. Al-Hassib

Ibn Bayyah, whose full name was Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahya ibn al-Sa'ig ibn Bayyah, and who was better known as Avempace

[349] **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII).* In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valencia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 162

(1080-1139) had various music disciples, among them Ibn Al-Hassib of Murcia[350]. Ahmad Tifâchi said about Ibn Al-Hassib that:

> He finished the art of music in theory and in practice. Ibn Bayyah legated an extensive work of music of several volumes, and musician poems by contemporary authors, which are still heard today in Al Andalus and in the Maghreb[351].

But is the information of Mohamed Bensalem correct? Therefore it is necessary to know what other authors say about him.

We do not have his date of birth or death, but Tîfâsî let us know that Abu l-Hasan Huseyn al-Hasib al-Mursi was from Murcia. Abul-Hasan [ibn al-Hasan] ibn al-Hasib was a celebrated teacher of music. His musical science, practical as well as theoretical, was unique; "all the recent compositions heard in al-Andalus and in the Maghreb are attributed to him. He is the author of a work of several volumes in music[352].

Some of the compositions of Al Hassib were composed for his governor Ibn Mardanis.

Among the poetic compositions created by Ibn Hasib, to which we add those of other poets sung on his melodic base of its creation and others that respond to his improvisations, the total of the compositions collected by Tifasi comes to 16, highlighting his importance among

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350 **MOHAMED BENSALEM** (2013-2014) *El impacto de la música andalusí de Granada en la escuela de Tlemcen.* Tesis para la obtención del master en lengua y comunicación. Universidad de Tlemcen, p. 11

351 **FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO, Reynaldo** (2006) *Papeles del festival de música española de cádiz*, Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, Centro de documentación musical de Andalucía, p. 294

352 **OSSEIRAN, Sanaa** (2004) *Cultural Symbiosis in Al-Andalus.* A metaphor for peace. Beirut-Lebanon, p. 301

other composers. It also indicates that some of the compositions of Ibn Hasib were sung in the vocal genres *sawt* and the *nasid* (*insád*)[353].

Tîfâsî stated that in ancient times the song of the people of al-Andalus was either in the Christian style or in that of the Arab camel riders. Various authors wrote about Ibn Hassib[354] from Murcia, but the best information about him was prepared by Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe who stated among other things[355]:

> Ahmad Saraf al-Dín al-Tîfâsî (1184-1253) was the author of the first encyclopedia entitled *Fasl al-jitâb fi madârik al-jawâss al-jams li-'ûli al-alâb* (Unerring Method for the Intelligent to Perceive With Their Five Senses). Most of the encyclopedia has been lost, but a manuscript of volume 41 has been preserved in the private library of Muhammad al-Tâhir ibn 'Âsûr, in Tunis. With respect to the history of Murcia chapters 10 and 11 of Al-Tifâsi's *Muta'at al-Asmâ'fi 'ilm al-samâ'* (Pleasure to the Ears, on the Art of Music) are important. This topic was initially studied by Emilio García Gómez[356] and later by James T. Monroe[357].
>
> Ibn Hassib was a musician from Murcia who wrote a large book on Andalusian music, now lost. The dates of his birth and death are uncertain,

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353 **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII).* In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valencia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 174

354 **GALMÉS DE FUENTES, Álvaro** (1998) *Las jarchas mozárabes y la tradición lírica románica.* In: Lírica popular / Lírica tradicional. Leccionen en homenaje a Don Emilio García Gómez. Universidad de Sevilla / Fundación Machado, pp. 27-54. Citation on p. 33

355 **LIU, Benjamin M. & MONROE, James T.** (1989) *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition.* Chapter: Ahmad al-Tîfâsî on Andalusian Music. University of California Press, Berkely, Vol. 125, pp. 35-44

356 **GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (1958) *La poesía lyrique hispano-arabe et l'appartition de la lyrique romane.* In: Al.Andalus, 21, pp. 303-338

GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio (1962) *Una extraordinaria página de Tifâsî y una hipótesis sobre la invención del zéjel.* In: Études d'Orientalisme, dédiées a la mémoire de E. Lévi-Provençal, II, Paris, pp. 517-523

357 **MONROE, James T.** (1987) *A Sounding Brass and Tinkling Cymbal: Al-Halil in Andalus (Two Notes on the Muwassaha)*, In: La Corónica, 15: 2, pp. 252-258

> but he was a contemporary of Abu ‘Imrân Mûsa ibn Sa'id (d. 1243), who was the father of the famous Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusi (12l3-l274). Abu ‘Imrân visited Ibn al-Hasib in person and heard him sing[358]. This would make the musician from Murcia a figure of the early thirteenth century[359].

Ahmad al-Tifâsi also comments:

> “The secretary and littérateur Abû l-Hasan ‘Ali, son of the teacher, expert, and historian Abû ‘Imrân Mûsa Sa’id, informed me that the teacher Ibn Du<way>rayda who was an expert in this subject informed him on the authority of Ibn al-Hâsib that the latter told him that the songs of the people of Andalus were, in ancient times, either in the style of the Christians or in the style of the Arab camel riders, although they had no rules to rely on until the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty.”

12.2.3. Yahyâ al-Judûy

During the Almoravid period Murcia had another musician in Abu Zakariya Yahya b. Ibrahím al-Isbihi al-Hákim, known as Yahyà al-Judúy al-Mursí who was born in Murcia in the 12th century and died in Ceuta in the thirteenth century. He was a renowned collector and excellent calligrapher, author of several compendia and a treaty about chess that appeared under the title *Kitáb al-Satrany al-musawar li-l-Hákim al-musagir* (Treaty of chess illustrated with miniatures by the expert Hakím). According to the Sevillian anthologist al-Ru’ayní (s. XIII) and the Algerian al-Maqqari (s. XVI) Yahyà al-Judúy composed a famous musical work consisting of several volumes known as *Kitab al-Agani al-Andalusiyya* (Treaty of Andalusian songs), a work that according to Maqqari emulated the *Kitáb al-Agáni* made by al-Isfaháni, although unfortunately it was not preserved[360]. He was a

[358] **AL-MAQQARI**, *Nafh al-Tib, ed. Ihsân ‘*Abbâs [Beirut: Dâr Sâdir. 1968], vol. 4. p. l38

[359] **LIU, Benjamin M. & MONROE, James T.** (1989) *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition.* Chapter: Ahmad al-Tîfâsî on Andalusian Music. University of California Press, Berkely, Vol. 125, pp. 35-44. Citation on p. 38

[360] **AL-MAQQARI**: *Nafh al-tibb,* III, 185.

DOZY, R.P. (1885-1886). *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne,* Leyden, Bril, II, p. 125.

contemporary of Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusî's father (d. 1243), with whom he corresponded[361]. Fortunately we have a biography of Yahyà al-Judúy al-Mursí written by Manuela Cortés García[362].

12.2.4. Ibn Hasan al-Quda'i

According to Manuela Cortés García in the Almohad period we had Ibn Hasan al-Quda'i, called "al Mursi" (1155-c. 1201), while others called him al-Garnati (El Granadino). He was the author of the musical treatise *Ijtisar Kitab Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi l-musíqâ*[363]. The Andalusian theorists made different copies of this treatise that they highly commented on; one copy is in the National Library of Madrid[364].

FARMER, Henry G. (1929). *A History of Arabian music.* Londres, p. 225.
TOUMA, H.H. (1987). Indications of Arabian musical influence of the Iberian Peninsula from the 8th to the 13th century. In: *Revista de Musicología,* X, 1, pp. 137-150 (145, nº 4). All works cited by:
CORTÉS, Manuela (2008) Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII). In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on pp. 163-164

361 **IBN SA'ID** (1964). *Al-Mugrib fi Hula l-Magrib.* Ed. Sawqi Dayf [Cairo: Dar al-Ma'ârif], vol. 2, pp. 110, 544. Cited by **LIU, Benjamin M. & MONROE, James T.** (1989). Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition. Chapter: Ahmad al-Tîfâsî on Andalusian Music. University of California Press, Berkely, Vol. 125, pp. 35-44. Citation on p. 39.

362 **CORTÉS GARCÍA, Manuela** (2009) *Biografía y obras de Al-Juduy*. In: Enciclopedia de la Cultura Andalusi, Vol. VI, Almería, p. 228

363 **CORTÉS GARCÍA, Manuela** (2012) *La música andalusí en el Reino de Granada*. In: Seminario. La música Andalusí en el Reino de Granada. Fundación Pública Andaluza Centro de Estudios Andaluces. Consejería de la Presidencia e Igualdad. Junta de Andalucía, pp. 6-37. Citation on p. 21

364 **CORTÉS GARCÍA, Manuela** (2007) *Poesía, música y danza en la Granada musulmana y morisca.* In: *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada,* 38, p. 17
Cited by **CORTÉS GARCÍA, Manuela** (2011) *Escuelas musicales andalusíes y magrebíes: perfiles y sistemas pedagógicos.* In: Revista del Cehgr, núm. 12, pp. 31-65. Citation on p. 49

12.2.5. Al-Raquti

With regards to the period just after the reign of Ibn Hud we had the musician Abu Bakr al-Raquti in Ricote, a great scholar who is described extensively in this book.

12.2.6. Alkhazragi

In the 15th century Murcia had Mohamad Ben Mohamad Ben Maimon Alkhazragi. He was **b**orn in Murcia and a grammarian, poet, musician, and a very proficient doctor. He died in 750/1350[365]. Hernández Morejon does not include any reference in his book, but he probably obtained the information on Alkhazragi from Casiri[366] who wrote:

> *Mohamad Ben Mohamad Ben Maimon Alkhazragi,* ortu *Murcianus,* at *Granatae, Guadix & Almeriae* variis temporum intervallis incola Grammaticus & poeta mediocris, Musicus tamen & Medicus idem peritissimus, qui in morbis curandis faciliora ut plurimum lenioraque adhibebat medicamenta, instrumento credeli rarius adhibito. De co varia lepide dicta & ingeniose facta referuntur. Decessit anno Egirae 750.
>
> ....
>
> Ben Mohamad Ben Maimon Alkhazragi, Murcianus, Grammaticus ac Poeta non contemnendus, Musicus item Medicus egregius. *II. P. 91.c.i.*

12.2.7. Tambourine

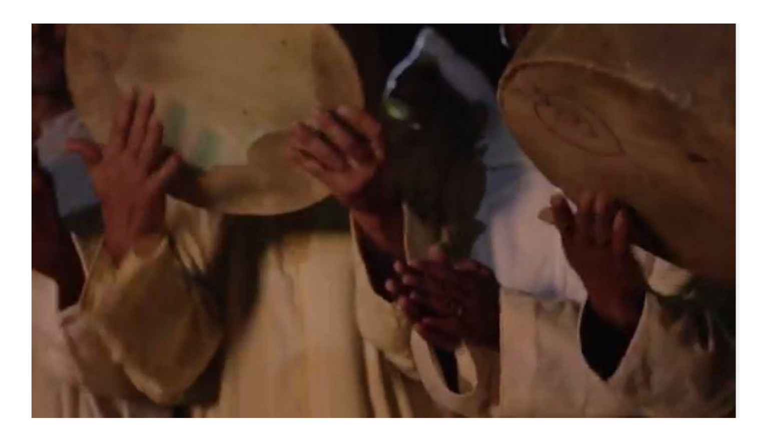
Situated between the Middle Atlas and the Central High Atlas, and still recently isolated, the valley of Anergui has preserved its Berber culture and its nomadic traditions. In the traditional dancing at a Berber wedding celebration ("Ah'waz'") the men use a type of

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365 **HERNÁNDEZ MOREJON, Antonio** (1842) *Historia Biblio-gráfica de la Medicina Española*, Tomo I, p. 191

366 **CASIRI, Michaeli** (1770) *Biblioteca arabico-hispana escurialensis sive librorum omnium Mss. Quos Arabicè ab auctoribus magnam partem Arabo-Hispanis compositos Biblioteca Coeobii Escurialensis complectitur.* Volume 2, Madrid, p. 91 and at the end of the book (no page number)

tambourine known as *pandereta* in Spain. In Spain we still see this custom too.



Tambourines used during a Berber wedding[367]



Tambourines used during the wedding of Marcos and Mónica, 2007
Photo: by courtesy of © David Casado

[367] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uDwQacWWR6w

12.2.8. Castanets

Arab and Berber cultures also gave Spain the guitar and castanets[368]. Katz[369] also states that many musical instruments and the metallic castanets were introduced in Spain by the Moslems:

> That the Moslems introduced new musical instruments, which were ultimately taken over by Christian Spain, cannot be denied, particularly chordophones (lute, rebec, psaltery), aerophones (transverse flute, shawm, trumpet), membrano-phones (various kinds of drums as well as the round and square tambourines) and idiophones (metal castanets).



https://es.pinterest.com/pin/113293746846776798/

Did Al-Andalus borrow the castanets from the Berbers or did the Berbers borrowed them from Al-Andalus? Their origin is probable to

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[368] **POUWELS, Randall L.** (2005). The African & Middle Eastern World. 600-1500. Oxford University Press, p. 90.
FARMER, Henry George (1978). Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence. Ayer Publishing.

[369] **KATZ, Israel J.** (1974). The Traditional Folk Music of Spain: Explorations and Perspectives. In: Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council, Vol. 6, pp. 64-65. Citation on p. 67.

be Greek, as we will observe from the following archaeological findings[370]:

> Camillo Praschniker publishes an archaic bronze statuette which once formed the support for a mirror. It represents a nude female figure in high head-dress holding castanets in her extended right hand. The left hand and feet are missing. Above the right shoulder is a small winged figure. An amulet is attached to a cord running over the right shoulder and under the left arm. The hair hangs down the back. The figure was found at Vonitza on the Gulf of Ambracia, and is now in the Berlín museum. It dates from the second half of the sixth century B.C.



Bronze statuette in Berliner Antiquarium

[370] **PRASCHNIKER, Camillo** (1915) *Bronzene Spiegelstütze im Berliner Antiquarium.* In: Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Bd. XVIII, pp. 57-60. Cited by Archaeological Institute of America (1922). Archaeological Discussiones. Greek Sculpture. In: American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XXVI, p. 203

12.3. Hospitality

The Berbers are known for their hospitality and openness. If you ever end up in a Berber village, you will surely be invited at least once to someone's home, even if you don't know the person. The Berbers have a social code that whether the guest is an enemy or a friend, one is required to host this person in their home for at least three days. If there is a traveller, someone from the community must house them. Even if they know that the traveller already has a place to stay, they will still invite them. If there is a person who comes to the village to serve the community (a shepherd, a teacher…), members of the community take turns housing and feeding them[371].

With regards to Blanca I relate to what happened to me 48 years ago. People who did not know me were very friendly from the beginning. They started telling me that their home was mine for whatever I needed: *"Aquí tienes tu casa para lo que necesites"*. If you visit a house where the people are eating at 2pm, they'll immediately invite you to eat with them: *"quieres comer?"*. Normally people do not accept this invitation, but if you did accept it, you can be assured that they'd give you the best food in the house and would not stop asking you whether you were satisfied or wanted more. You are the quest and that is detected in every sense since the whole family wants to make your stay in their house pleasant. At the beginning I had problems finding certain people in the village, but it was not necessary to despair - there was immediately someone who led me to the right place. The concept "hurry" was alien to them and they took time to help me find each person. Time was also a different factor where you could detect their unhurried way of life. It was clear that I had entered a completely different world. There is no doubt that their customs had to do with their ancestors, the Berbers and the Arabs.

Consequently if I compare the Dutch customs to those of the Berbers and the people of Blanca, I see a lot of similarities between the Berbers

[371] http://fescooking.com/the-south-and-amazigh-people

and the people of Blanca and that the customs in the northern countries are completely different. Therefore if we want to know more about the origin of Blanca, we also have to study the local customs in High Atlas and compare them to those ruling in Blanca.

12.4. Food

12.4.1. Way of eating

The first time I ate in Blanca I had to get used to eating a plate full of salad. The olives were also served in the same dish and another time in a bowl. They were often eaten with the hands and at the beginning I tried eating them with a fork. I only succeeded if they did not have pips and with pips I had to eat them by hand too. In Holland we have salad on the same plate as our dish, but this is not a custom in Spain.



Spanish salad
Photo: by courtesy of © Joselu Blanco, 2009

The difference between the salad in Holland and Spain was quite stark. While in Holland I had mostly lettuce dropped in a dressing, in the

region of Murcia the plate is much healthier as it mostly contains various vegetables, such as lettuce, tomatoes, onion, and red or green pepper. The region of Murcia is famous for its vegetables, so on some occasions they also used to put carrots, maize, and radish in the dish. Such a dish was then mostly decorated with olives, but on other occasions they would put eggs, tuna, and maize in. They richly dress it with a lot of olive oil and lemon juice. Lemon juice because it is acid and the province of Murcia is the main exporter of lemons in Spain.



Migas
Photo: by courtesy of © Deramaenrama, 2006

In southwestern Spain it does not rain too much, but when it rains in the autumn or winter, it is customary in Blanca to eat *Migas* or *Gachasmigas.* This is the name used for an ancient dish in the Murcian cuisine. They make a large pan to feed the whole family and it was not long ago very normal to see 6 or 8 people eating from the same big dish. Today customs have changed somewhat and the group that eats *Migas* has become larger, thus the *Migas* are served on plates. The *Migas* were made from bread various days old converted into crumbs. They contain olive oil, garlic, salt, water, and meat was added in the

form of longaniza (a type of sausage), salchicha (cured sausage), and bacon. It is a rather time-consuming process to obtain the right small lumps as a result of continuous stirring; turning, agitating, and chopping. There's no doubt that this way of eating together from a big dish comes from an old custom, in this case of Berber or Arab origin, and knowing that the first settlers in Blanca were the Berbers, certain customs become clearer.

Another custom I saw in Blanca - and not in my country - is that the lord of the house breaks the round bread and distributes it to the guests. In Blanca the lord of the house held the round bread against his chest and then cut a piece of bread that he handed to the guest. Today in the High Atlas the owner of the house breaks the bread with his two hands and gives a piece to the guest. So we see again that an old Berber custom was still in use in Blanca 48 years ago.

Eating with the right hand is an important tradition in Muslim countries, where families and friends gather around tables loaded with communal dishes. When sharing food with others, you should always eat with your right hand, as the left one is deemed unclean in Arab cultures.

The Berbers still eat together from one big dish. It is not an easy task to manage a small piece of flat bread using only the right hand. With this piece of bread, the thumb, and first two fingers one has to collect some vegetables or meat and bring it to the mouth. It is important not to put the fingers in the mouth and one can lick his fingers only at the end of the meal.

I have observed this way of eating in Blanca only when eating an egg. Some people dipped their piece of bread in a fried yolk egg. I saw the same manner of eating when people eat their salad and dip their piece of bread (only from their side of the dish) in the olive oil that stays at the bottom of the dish.



Eating with hands (three fingers)
Photo: by courtesy of © Kim, 2008

12.4.2. Gazpacho

This vegetable soup forms the food during the summer. This dish is of Arabic origin and is composed of onions, garlic, cucumbers, tomatoes, chilis, all chopped up very small and mixed with crumbs of bread (fried in oil). It is all put into a bowl of olive oil, vinegar, and fresh water.

12.4.1. Oven for bread

There is a lot of similarity between the Berber clay oven, the *takat,* and the bread oven that I have seen in Blanca and the Ricote Valley. Each Berber family has its own earthen woodfired bread oven. The first thing to do is to make a fire in the oven and allow the wood to burn down until there's a thin layer of ash-coated coals in the bottom of the *takat* (about an hour). Usually one woman is in charge of the food for the family. The rest of the family works in the fields from dawn to

dusk. In many cases dinner is the only time of the day when the whole family is together. The first job is to take the bread dough to the clay oven. This simple structure contains a wood fire on one side and space on the other to lie the bread as it bakes, turning it over with a stick halfway through the process.



Berber bread
Photo: by courtesy of © Ian McKellar



Typical Berber oven for making bread
(Photo: by courtesy of © Roman Königshofer, 2010

The Berber women are famous for a special kind of bread called *therfist,* which is unleavened and prepared in sheets. Its taste, thanks to some fenugreek used, has been described as a cross between celery and burnt sugar.



Ancient oven to make bread in Ricote
Photo: © Govert Westerveld

As we can read from the visitor of the Order of Santiago between 1468 and 1549, the six villages of the Ricote Valley had their own communal woodfire oven for baking bread. Consequently the people of Blanca went to this communal oven to bake their breads, but we can take for granted that there were also other families who still had their own bread ovens. This was the case for inhabitants who had country houses and could not allow themselves to walk to the village. Of course, there were also bakers who sold their bread to the citizens. We observe that their bread ovens are quite similar to the Berber ones.

12.4.2. Anafre (Anafe) for cooking

This portable stove would contain, in the lower chamber, the embers that would allow preparation of stews that did not need exposure to strong and prolonged fire, as well as facilitate fried or braised

preparations. It would also serve to boil the water of the infusions. It is quite probable that these utensils were also used to finish dishes or maintain the temperature of dishes, or even heat the homes. Its open mouth invites us to think about usage adapted to the casserole, in which vegetables, meat or poultry, fish, eggs, and all sorts of fried foods would be prepared.

Anafres are indeed a kind of cooking stoves. They are usually made of mud or metal. They are still used in rural areas of Spain and, certainly, in North Africa and Latin America. Embers (also called embers) are used to provide heat for the pot or the pan placed above the portable oven[372].

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[372] **AZUAR RUIZ, Rafael y MENÉNDEZ FUEYO, José Luis (1997)** *"El alfar islámico de la calle Curtidores-Filet de Fora de la ciudad de Elche (Alicante) (siglos XI-XIII)"*. In: Pobladores de Elche, 19, p. 113-126
BELTRÁN DE HEREDIA BERCERO, J. (1996) *"Terminología y uso de los utensilios cerámicos de cocina durante la baja Edad Media*". In: Del rebost a la taula. Cocina y alimentación en la Barcelona gótica, Barcelona, p. 46-58
GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia (1990-1991) *"Panes, hogazas y fogones portátiles. Dos formas cerámicas destinadas a la cocción del pan en al-Andalus: el hornillo (tannūr) y el plato (tabag)"*. In: Lucentum, IX-X, p. 161-175
HITA RUIZ, José Manuel; SUÁREZ PADILLA, José; VILLADA PAREDES, Fernando, coords. (2009) Comer en Ceuta en el siglo XIV: la alimentación durante la época meriní, Ceuta.



Anafre and pot with lid in Medina Azahara - Cordoba
Photo: by courtesy of © Tete Lukas



Half an anafre (anafe) found in Siyasa
Photo: by courtesy of © Tete Lukas



Part of a brazier found in Siyasa
Photo: by courtesy of © Tete Lukas

12.4.3. Brazier for cooking

Another type of heaters was the brazier. It served for heating the rooms and burn ing incense, but the morphology of its upper pinnacles would also allow it to keep dishes with food warm for consumption[373]. In cold winters houses were heated by marble, metal, or clay braziers, depending on the owner's social status[374].



Brazier and earthenware pan with lid in
Stoà of Attalus Museum
Photo: by courtesy of © Giovanni Dall'Orto, Nov. 9, 2009

The brazier or upper cavity relies with a few discoidal stands on the edge to balance a casserole or pot placed on the mouth; the bottom or ashtray has a hole that allowed ventilation of the embers and removal of the ashes. It has two handles for transport.

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373 **SALINAS, Elena** (2013) *Household Pottery in the Caliphate of Córdoba*. In: Catalogue Madinat Qurtuba. Ciudad y Materia. Casa Árabe. Madrid, pp. 42-44

374 **SANAA OSEIRAN** (2004) *Cultural Symbiosis in Al-Andalus.* A Metaphor for Peace. Regional Office for Education in the Arab States.Beirut – Lebanon, p. 276

I never saw the type of brazier used in Siyasa or High Atlas in Holland.



Brazier used in High Atlas today

12.4.4. Palm leaf Broom

Today the Berbers in the High Atlas use a broom made from palm leaves. We can observe a similar broom in one of the gravures that Weiditz made in 1529 during his trip to Granada.

Today we no longer see manufacturers of brooms made from palm leaves in Blanca. However, Juan Molina García Escobero of La Raya, a village 4km from Murcia, was still making them in 2012.



Berber Palm Broom
Photo: by courtesy of © https://www.jaimaalkauzar.es

13. AGRICULTURE IN DARRAX

Analyses of pollen and grains should systematically be made on all excavations of archaeological sites since in the majority of cases the only data available will be these ones. However, the application of this type of analysis in irrigated plots could be unreliable due to their continued use and their mixture with remains of different species grown later.

Before the Muslim occupation in Spain farmers probably already cultivated grapes, olives, barley, wheat, and other crops. There are no data on what the Berber could have cultivated in Darrax in the 12th century, thus we have to use data from other sources. What we know is that thanks to the Arabs and Berbers various fruits and vegetables were introduced in Spain.

Here I will reflect which fruits, vegetables, trees, shrubs, and other gifts of the garden were used in Negra (Blanca) and compare them to those in the High Atlas. At least we then have an indication of them, although the results should be used with care.

The Ricote Valley's Muslims, who were skilled in irrigation, were to a certain extent able to command the seasons, and thus ensure regular returns to their industry. Hardly an acre in their hands was left inactive. They were acquainted with various species of trees and plants. Their several fruits, and their dexterity in the pruning and grafting of trees, the arrangement and distribution of the garden, the treatment of plants and flowers, and all and every one of the branches of agriculture was indeed so great that they are considered to be among the best husbandmen in Spain.

Though drinking wine (alcohol) was forbidden by the Koran, vines were cultivated in the Ricote Valley and the Muslims produced raisins too. The highly yielding productions were of wheat, barley, maize, and

fruit of superior quality, particularly citrons, oranges, figs, apricots, and pomegranates.



The Spanish hoe used in the garden[375].

The most common trees were mulberry, olive, palm, and almond. The pines on the different Sierras formed a large forest. The oleander, cistus, and other odoriferous shrubs grew wild and the prickly pear and aloe flourished luxuriantly. Rich wines, olive oil, and silk were produced in considerable quantities.

The Esparto grass grows spontaneously in uncultivated areas, and is worked up into baskets, mats, ropes, and other useful articles. The farming stocks are principally sheep and goats. Irrigation was sedulously attended to, and streams that descended from the mountains to wells in Ricote were diverted to many channels to fertilíze the soil

[375] http://mvelascoramos.blogspot.com.es/2013/08/cuando-con-tus-manos-coges-una-azada.html

and form a fountain for its inhabitants. Channels were opened and closed by a hoe.



Hoe (Azada) used in Ait Bougemez to open a channel[376]

I never saw this type of Spanish hoe in Germany, England, and Holland, although I worked there for several years during my agricultural education. It is quite interesting to see that this type of Spanish hoe is used in the Imlil High Atlas and other places such as Ait Bouguemez in the High Atlas. In the last place the (Azada) hoe was used to open a channel so that the water could run to irrigate a plot.

Consequently the question can arise of whether the Berbers brought this utensil to Darrax and Spain, because there are so many coincidences between these two places that one cannot escape to think in this direction.

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[376] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JDD9Ks8kJzc



A Berber using a hoe in his garden in Imlil[377]

The Berbers in Darrax took care to work according to the Islamic jurists (*Fuqaha*) and laws.

The term of a *garay* (alquería), like all the lands, is divided into two parts: *mubaha* - inappropriate land and *mamluka* - appropriate land. The former is subdivided into communal - *harim* or dead - *mawat*. The *harim* constitutes a part of the territory dedicated to the common use of pastures, firewood, wood, charcoal, wild fruits, etc. As members of the aljama benefit from it communally, it cannot be alienated individually.
Muhaba or unsuitable lands also come in two kinds: those from which the rights of use are exercised by inhabitants of the neighbouring locality who can take wood and have their herds there, and those that are not assigned for this purpose, in which case the land is called *mawat.* Thus only in extreme situations, such as a drought, the *garay* claimed exclusive use of his *harim.* On the other hand the dead lands

377 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qM52VLMtFiQ

mawat were uncultured spaces that belonged to the Muslim community and that were sometimes managed by the state. These lands can be transformed into private property by enhancement or "vivification" (*ihya*). The *mamluka* or appropriate land refers to cultivated land *amira,* and also to vacant or abandoned land *kharab*[378].

13.1. Fruits

Most of the fruits listed in the following table are provided by the study of Benadette Montanari and by a Berber manuscript[379]. This gives us an opportunity to see which of them could have been cultivated in Darrax or Negra.

Darrax / Negra (Blanca)	**High Atlas**
Almonds	Almonds *Prunus amygdalus var dulcis*
Unknown	Apple
Apricot	Apricot
Barbara Fig Tree (Prickly pears) *Opuntia ficus*	Barbara Fig Tree (Prickly pears) *Opuntia megacantha*
Unknown	Carob Pods *Cerotonia siliqua*
Lemon	Citrons (Lemons)
Date palm	Date palm
Figs	Figs *Ficus carica*
Grape	
Grapefruit	

[378] **LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, Y.** (1959) *Un problème de sociologie juridique: Les terres "communes" en pays d'Islam.* In: Studia Islamica, Nº. 10, pp. 111-136. Citation on pp. 111-112

[379] **HODGSON, W.B.** (1837) *Of a Berber Manuscript.*. In: The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 4th volume, pp. 115-129

Olives *Olea europea*	Olives *Olea europea*
Oranges	Orange
Plum	*Prunus*
Pomegranate	Pomegranate *Punica granatum*
Unknown	Walnuts *Juglans regis*

13.1.1. Barbara Fig Tree

As we learn from Benadette Montanari without giving more references, "The Barbara fig tree (Opuntia megacantha), or aknari in Tachelhit, has its origins in the Canary Islands, but is found throughout Morocco[380]". However, the research of Patrick Griffith goes in another direction, because he states Mexico[381]:

> The biogeographic and evolutionary origins of this species have been obscured through ancient and widespread cultivation and naturalization. The origin of O. ficus – indica is investigated through the use of Bayesian phylogenetic analyses of nrITS DNA sequences. These analyses support the hypotheses that O. ficus – indica is a close relative of a group of arborescent fleshy-fruited prickly pears from central and southern Mexico; that the center of domestication for this species is in central Mexico; and that the taxonomic concept of O. ficus – indica may include clones derived from multiple lineages and therefore be polyphyletic.

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[380] **MONTANARI, Benedette** (2013) *The Future of Agriculture in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco: The Need to Integrate Traditional Ecological Knowledge.* In: The Future of Mountain Agriculture, Springer Geography. Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg, pp. 51-72. Citation on p. 61

[381] **GRIFFITH, M. Patrick** (2004) *The Origins of an Important Cactus Crop, Opuntia Ficus-Indica (Cactaceae): New Molecular Evidence*. In: American Journal of Botany 91 (11): 14, pp. 1915-1921. Citation on p. 1915.99

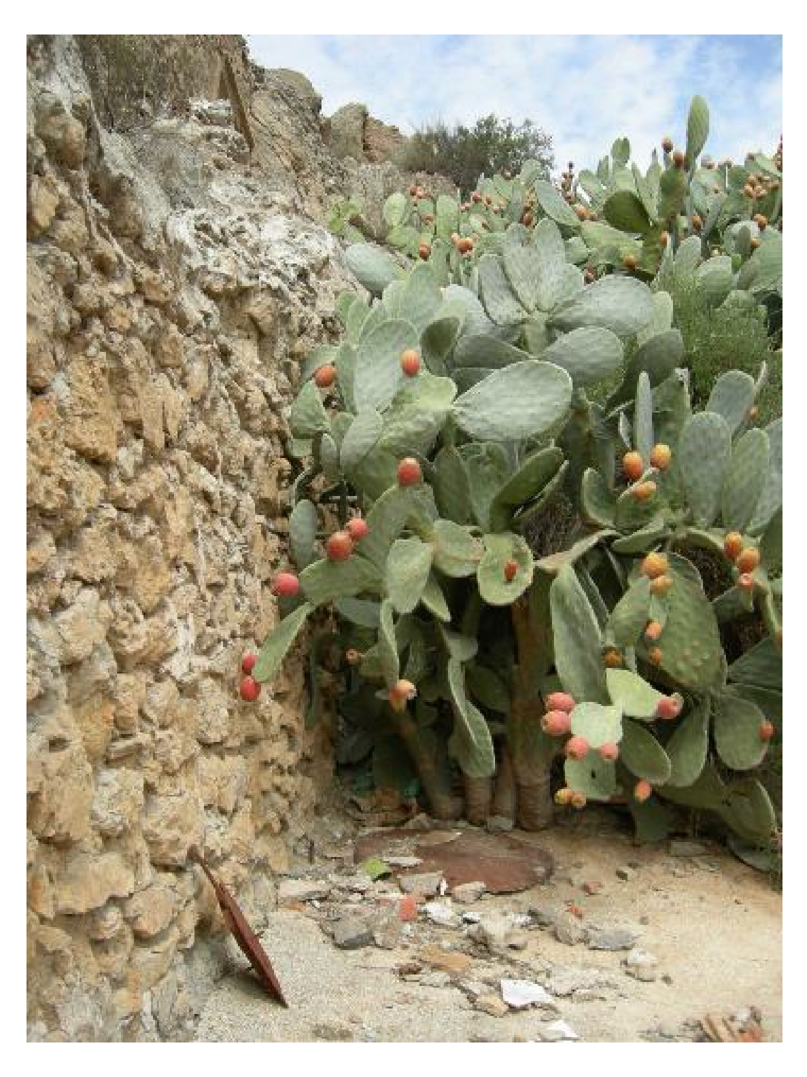


A special handmade tool for handling the prickly Barbara Fig (Photo: reproduced with the kind permission of ©Bernadette Montanari, 2007)

So here we have a simple proof that one cannot easily say that certain fruits or vegetables in Negra (Blanca) are of Berber origin. When we see Barbara fig trees in Blanca, near the castle where the village started its origin and the same trees in the High Atlas, the first impression is to think that the Barbara fig trees of Blanca have their origin in the High Atlas. However, the reality is completely different as we have seen.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to investigate and compare the fruits, vegetables, products, customs etc. of the High Atlas with those of Blanca to come to better understanding of the origin of Darrax and Negra (Blanca).

As can be seen from the photograph, in the High Atlas the Barbary fig or prickly pear is picked with a wooden V-shaped stick. It is a rather delicate process as the fruits are covered with prickles.



Barbara figs or prickly pears nearby the castle of Blanca
(Photo: Govert Westerveld)

By that time the Barbara Fig tree has completely replaced the cochineal (grana) from *Quercus coccifera* in the Canary Islands, as it became the host plant for the cochineal insects (*Dactylopius coccus*) for the production of valuable vivid red and purple dyes.

The Catholic Monarchs in 1478 armed and partly financed the *realenga* conquest of the Canary Islands not yet subjugated: Gran Canaria, La Palma, and Tenerife. This conquest ended in 1496 with the defeat of Tenerife and the integration of the Canaries Archipelago into the Kingdom of Castile. So the introduction of the prickly pears or Barbara figs tress must have happened after 1496.

13.2. Vegetables

Negra (Blanca)	**High Atlas**
Artichokes	Artichokes
Eggplant	
Melon	Melon
Parsnip	
Rice	
Sugar cane	
Water-melon	Water-melon

It was not possible for me to do quality research on the vegetables used by the Berbers centuries ago, thus I have to leave this matter for possible future research.

13.3. Other products

Negra (Blanca)	**High Atlas**
Capers	Capers *Capparis spinosa*
Carob pods	Carob pods *Cerotonia siliqua*
Cochineal *Quercus coccifera*	
Cotton	
Esparto (Trapo) *Stipa tenacíssima*	Esparto *Stipa tenacissima*
Honey	Honey
Silk	
	Thuja articulata Gum-resin

13.3.1. Carob Pods

Carob (*Cerotonia siliqua*) is found in the High Atlas[382] and in the province of Murcia (2% of the total production). However, this tree is not found in Darrax or Negra (Blanca). It is found more in Alicante, Valencia, and Castellón (45% of the total production).

13.3.2. Cochineal

The cochineal (grana) from *Quercus coccifera* was an important product for colouring in Murcia[383] and the Ricote Valley[384].

382

383 Privilegio de Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Confirmando los privilegios anteriores y otorgándoles otros nuevos. Jaén, 18 de mayo de 1267. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Libro de privilegios, fols. 11r. - 14r.) (Puerto de La Losilla). Cited by **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1963) *Documentos de Alfonso X el Sabio,* Codom 1, Murcia. pp. 43-49

384 1308, juliol, 31. València. Jaime II mana a Gombau d'Entença, procurador del regne de València, que faci penyorar béns del comanador de Ricote o del seu orde



Quercus coccifera (Photo: Javier Martín)

The Muslims introduced the scarlet dye obtained from the female cochineal (kermes vermilio) insect, growing on the kermes oak (Quercus coccifera). The product was known in the trade as the "grana" grain because formerly it was supposed to be the grain or seed of the Quercus.
The Quercus coccifera was used in the territory of Negra (Blanca) for this extraordinary insect to feed on. By cultivation of the Qercus the

per tal d'indemnitzar els cinc sarraïns de Xinosa que foren presos per quatre homes de Ricote quan anaven a Negra a collir grana. Foren lliurats al comanador, que els féu rescatar per 1.600 sous de reials i perderen a més totes les coses que portaven, valorades en 60 sous. (ACA, C, reg. 142, f. 121r.). Cited by **FERRER I MALLOL** (1988) *Les aljames sarraïnes de la governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV.* Consell Superior d'investigaciones científiques. Institució Milà i fontanals, Barcelona. pp. 204-205

brilliance of colour and durability of the dye which the cochineal insect reared in Orihuela offered were equal to the finest produced in Negra (Blanca). The general character and propensities of this extraordinary creature are not easily observed and require close attention. In common with all other animals, it has the distinction sexes, but no two creatures of the name class can present more characteristic difference than the male and female of the cochineal. The females cannot fly and never move after they land on a leaf of the Quercus. They live by suction and firmly adhere to the plant until they are either gathered for use or a new generation is formed. They grow to the size of a small lentil or an oval shaped pea, are convex on the surface, and concave against the plant.



Cochinilla (Kermes vermilio) on the Quercus leaves
Courtesy of © Francisco Ricardo

The convex surface is beautifully marked with lines and rugged, and when the insect is about fifteen days old, it resembles a louse in many particulars. It has three claws or legs on each side on which it walks slowly once detached from its hold, will crawl over the hand or any plane surface, but when it falls or turns over on its back, which it is very prone to doing, it is as helpless as a turtle. It has a kind of proboscis or stinglike member extending from the mouth which penetrates the leaf of the Quercus and secures it in a most

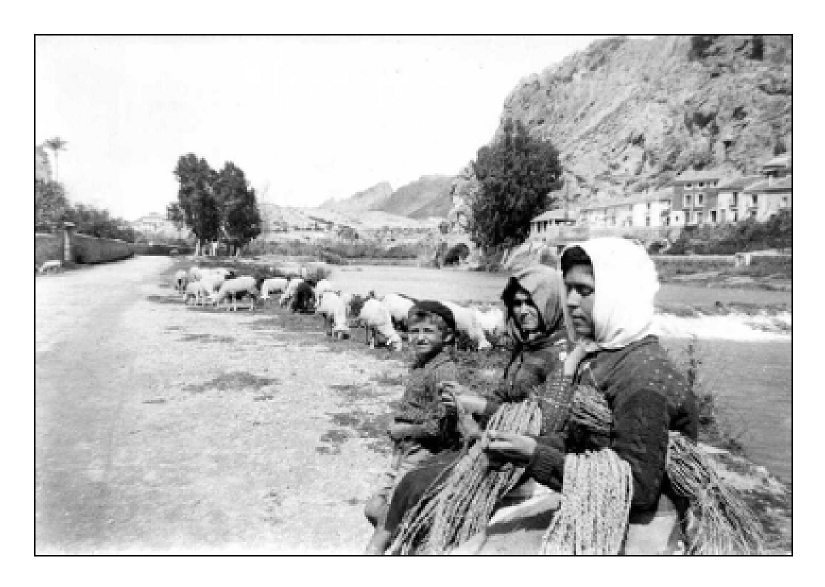
extraordinary manner on first landing. They prefer living communally to wandering about the leaf, although it causes destruction to thousands of them; for when they grow to a certain size, they push one another out of their original location. Thus the weaker ones, or those that are deposited last generally perish. But this mortality can be well afforded by the prodigious fecundity of the creature. Every cochineal contains many thousand young. There is nothing in nature that harnesses such powers of fecundity as the cochineal insect.

At a very early period they cover themselves with a silky coat of milky whiteness; and although many occasionally lose this whiteness, they retain that whiteness until they are gathered for commercial purposes. The male insects are few: in a swarm of 1000 perhaps not more than two or three can be observed. They are furnished with long white wings and resemble a spider in shape. From the thirty-fifth to the forty-fifth day a prolongation may be observed extending from the posterior of the females, and about at the same time the males can be seen busily impregnating the ova of the females. This process is by far the most important, for if the males are disturbed, impregnation is incomplete. When this period is over, the males wander about the leaves in a most exhausted and miserable condition, and even more strange, disappear in an instant. These insects are gathered from the plant, killed by the application of heat, and exposed to the sun to dry.

When dried they resemble small rough berries or seeds of a brown or purple colour, and form the cochineal of the bugs, which is used for making carmine and also as a red dye.

13.3.3. Esparto

The Berbers in Darrax and Negra made all kinds of products from the Esparto[385] grass. Depending on the thickness of the cord they call them *soga, lia* and *cordeta* in Spanish. In the High Atlas they use esparto in construction of the ksar as a formwork material in the execution of the slabs. They also use it as a binding element and protective material[386].



Women of Blanca: "Elaboration of the esparto strings (lias)"
Photo: © José María Molina Galera)

In 1303 the Aragonese monarch Jaime II requested help from the Maghreb militia, with whose leader Hamu b. Abad al-Haqq b. Rahhu he signed an agreement on December 22, 1303. The main conditions

[385] Privilegio de Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Confirmando los privilegios anteriores y otorgándoles otros nuevos. Jaén, 18 de mayo de 1267. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Libro de privilegios, fols. 11r. - 14r.) (Puerto de La Losilla). Cited by **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1963) *Documentos de Alfonso X el Sabio,* Codom 1, Murcia. pp. 43-49

[386] **GIL PIQUERAS, Teresa** (2014) *Arquitectura de tierra en el Alto Atlas. Del oasis de Mdagra al Valle de Outat.* Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Politècnica de València, p. 124

were fixed: the castle of Negra and the places of Ceutí and Lorquí would serve for the establishment of the African host[387].

Later they would also acquire nearby farmsteads, like Abarán, Freyen, Andarraix, and Alusca[388]. Before plundering in Cuenca Ibn Rahhu complained about the Muslims of Aledo and Cieza who had caused serious damage in Negra, because they had destroyed his 83 hives and stolen a lot of rags (trapos) which Ibn Rahhu had stored to make paper[389].

From the data provided by el-Edrisi we know that in the middle of the eleventh century paper from al-Andalus was sold to the Middle East and had acquired a reputation of great quality, spreading its fame throughout the Mediterranean. There are documents attesting that in the first half of the 12th century paper was exported to Italy, Morocco, Tunisia, the Byzantine empire, Egypt, etc. In the early Arabohispanic papers we found fibers of esparto and hemp and they presented a better grinding of the rag than the elaborated ones in the Arab world thanks to the progress made in the hydraulic techniques[390].

This means that the inhabitants of the castle already knew that esparto and hemp fibers were used for production of paper. Apparently they soaked the esparto and hemp in the river Segura to obtain a good quality of rag that was used for production of paper. However, this

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[387] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1976) *Un señor musulmán en la España cristiana: El «ra'is» de Crevillente,* Alicante. pp. 29-30

- 1. A.C.A. Reg. Canc., nº 235, fol. 8 r. (17-22 de enero de 1304)

[388] We still do not know where Freyen and Alusca were situated.

[389] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1984) *El señorío de los Manuel en Montealegre.* Congreso de Historia de Albacete. I.E.A. Albacete. pp. 81-92

PRETEL MARIN, D. (1978) *Documentos de don Juan Manuel a sus vasallos de la villa de Chinchilla*, Al-Basit, Nº 5, Albacete. pp. 91-110

[390] **CABEZA DE BUEY Y SIRENA** (2011) *La Historia del Papel y las Filigranas desde el Medievo hasta la Modernidad.* Stuttgart, Valencia, Viena, p. 19

process of soaking created problems with the drinking water for the Muslims in Murcia[391].



Blanca's Esparto Carpets "Arteblanca"

In the High Atlas we also find esparto grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) that is used to weave baskets, mats, upholstery, hats, and household products.

13.3.4. Honey

As we have seen with the Esparto, Ibn Rahhu also complained about the Muslims of Aledo and Cieza who had destroyed his 83 hives[392].

Consequently the Berbers in Negra were beekeepers, as were the Berbers of the Hascuran town of Tagodast, who were experts in white and yellow honey[393].

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[391] A.M.M. Car. real 1405-18, era. fol. 58v. Dated 16.1.1353

[392] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1984) *El señorío de los Manuel en Montealegre*. Congreso de Historia de Albacete. I.E.A. Albacete. pp. 81-92

PRETEL MARIN, D. (1978) *Documentos de don Juan Manuel a sus vasallos de la villa de Chinchilla*, Al-Basit, Nº 5, Albacete. pp. 91-110

[393] **AFRICANUS, Leo** (1896) *The History and Description of Africa*, pp. 298-304. Citation on p. 301

13.3.5. Mulberry tree (Silkworm)

When was the silkworm introduced in the Ricote Valley? An Arab author from the 13th century who refers to the Syrian mulberry tree growing in that region stated that Arab settlers from Syria introduced moriculture and sericulture into al-Andalus after 740[394]. Apparently the introduction of manufacture of silks in al-Andalus took place during the reign of the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Rahman II (822-852)[395].

There was no silk production in the High Atlas, although by the 8th century the Muslims controlled the silk routes around the Mediterranean Sea and had extended breeding of silkworms into Syria and Spain.

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[394] **LOMBARD, M.** (1978) *Les textiles dans le monde musulman du VII au XII siècles*, Paris, pp. 95-96
LAGARÈRE, V. (1990) *Mûrier et culture de la soie en Andalus au Moyen-Age (Xe-XIVe siècles).* In: Mélange de la Casa Velásquez, 26:1, pp. 97-106
DURAND, R. (1993). L’homme et l’animal domestique et l’environmenement du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle, Nantes, pp. 343-349. Citados por **JACOBY, David** (2004) *Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West*. In: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol. 58, pp. 197-240

[395] **SERJEANT, R.B.** (1972) *Islamic Textiles*. Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest, Beirut, pp. 165-167.Citado por **JACOBY, David** (2004) *Silk Economics and Crosscultural Artistic Interaction*: *Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West.* In: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol. 58, pp. 197-240

14. PROMINENT FIGURES

14.1. In the Ricote Valley

14.1.1. Ibn Sab'in

Muhyi Al-din Abu Muhammad Abd Al-Haqq b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Nasr b. Muhammad Al-Mursi Al-Riquti Al-Isbili Al-Sufi Qutb Al-din b. Al-Dara b. Sab'in[396] (1217-1270) was a Murcian Mussulman surnamed Kotbeddin (pole star of the faith).

He was a writer on philosophical subjects at the early age of fifteen, and afterwards founded a sect to which he gave his name. He probably went to Ceuta in 1243 when he was 27. Ibn Sab'in was born into a prominent Murcian family around 1217 in Ricote[397], a town bordering the Segura River, northwest of Murcia. Other historians state that his

[396] Lator mentions: Muhyi Al-din Abu Muhammad Abd Al-Haqq b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Nasr b. Muhammad Al-Mursi Al-Riquti Al-Isbili Al-Sufi Qutb Al-din b. Al-Dara b. Sab'in. Cfr.: **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: *Al-Andalus,* 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 373

LISAN AL DIN IBN AL KHATIB (1977) *Al-Ihata fi Akhbar Gharnatah,* Vol. 4, p. 31, Maktaba Al-Khaniji. Cairo

[397] **SPALLINO, Patrizia** (2002) *Ibn Sab'in. Le questioni siciliane.* Federico II e l'universo filosofico. Palermo, p. 33. Cited by:

AKASOY, Anna Ayse (2006) *Die Sizilianischen Fragen des Ibn Sab'in Philosophie und Mystik in der späten Almohadenzeit.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Philosophie im Fachbereich Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften der Johan-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, p. 4

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1994) Nota sulla nisbah di Ibn Sab'in. In: *Alifbà* 16, pp. 83-94

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1996) Al-Masa'il Al-siqilliyya. *Ann Ist Orient Napoli,* 56: pp. 52-62

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1997) Il problema del fine della metafisica nelle Questioni Siciliane di Ibn Sab'in. In: *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica medievale. Forme e modi di trasmissione, a cura di Valvo A.* Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, pp. 211-220

birthplace was Valle de Ricote - a translation for Wadi Riqut[398] and Murcia[399]. Vincent J. Cornell[400] upon examining the writings of Ibn Sab'in concludes that he proves to be a much more coherent thinker than most scholars in the Muslim world and the West had him for. He is best summed up as a Muslim universalist, a Plotinian mystic, and a devotee of Hermes Trismegistus who drew from the wellsprings of both philosophy and Sufism without completely identifying himself with either discipline. He was an author on philosophical subjects at the early age of fifteen, and afterwards founded a sect, to which he gave his name. He probably went to Ceuta in 1243 when he was 27 years old.

There are now Arabists who do not believe in the Ricote Valley as the birthplace of Ibn Sab'in. This makes the matter of the birthplace still more complicated. Anna Ayse Akasoy states in her German dissertation that according to most sources Ibn Sab'in was born into a prominent Murcian family around 1217 in Ricote[401], a town bordering

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[398] **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: *Al-Andalus,* 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 379

[399] **CARMONA GONZALEZ, Alfonso (**2007) De nuevo sobre Ibn Sab'in. In: *4º Congreso Internacional Valle de Ricote "Despierta tus Sentidos".* Centro cultural de Ricote del 8 a 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Edición: Consorcio Turístico Mancomunidad "Valle de Ricote", pp. 159-162. In p. 159

[400] **CORNELL, Vincent J.** (1997) The Way of the Axial Intellect. The Islamic Hermeticism of Ibn Sab'in. In: *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn "Arabi Society,* Volume XXII, pp. 41-79. Citation p. 61

[401] **SPALLINO, Patrizia** (2002) *Ibn Sab'in. Le questioni siciliane.* Federico II e l'universo filosofico. Palermo, p. 15 and others succesively. Cited by:

AKASOY, Anna Ayse (2006) *Die Sizilianischen Fragen des Ibn Sab'in Philosophie und Mystik in der späten Almohadenzeit.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Philosophie im Fachbereich Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften der Johan-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, p. 4

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1994) *Nota sulla nisbah di Ibn Sab'in*. In: Alifbà 16, pp. 83-94

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1996) *Al-Masa'il Al-siqilliyya*. Ann Ist Orient Napoli, 56: pp. 52-62

SPALLINO, Patrizia (1997) *Il problema del fine della metafisica nelle Questioni Siciliane di Ibn Sab'in*. In: La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica

the Segura River northwest of Murcia. She refers to the work of Patrizzia Spallino from 2002. However, on pp. 15 and 16 of her book Spallino states:

> ‘Abd al-Haqq b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Nasr al-‘Akki al-Mursi Abut Muhammad Qutb al-Din Ibn Sab’in, nacque nella valle di Ricote, vicino a Cieza, nel regno di Murcia, nel 613 o 614 h. (1216 o 1217 d.C.).
> (......)
> In relazione alla zona in cui nacque e visse, Ibn Sab’n fu chiamato *Al-Andalusi, al-Mursi,* e, in riferimento a una cittadina della circoscrizione della Murcia detta Riquta, fu soprannominato *al-Riquti*[402]. Gli fu attributo anche il nome di *al-Isbili*[403] e di *al-Qastallani*[404] da un altro luogo dell’Andalsia noto come al-Qastallata.

In this sense, it is necessary to refer to the study of Carmona González of the year 2007, when he stated that Ibn Al-Jatib wrote *Mursi raquti Al-asl* (Murcian of Ricote’s origin). According to Carmona González, he must have been born, therefore, in the city of Murcia[405].

> Era de familia originaria de Ricote, de acuerdo con la información que nos proporciona Ibn al-Jatib, quien escribe *mursi raquti al-asl* (“murciano de origen ricoteño”). Debió de nacer, por lo tanto, en la ciudad de Murcia;

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medievale. Forme e modi di trasmissione, a cura di Valvo A. Edizioni dell’Orso, Alessandria, pp. 211-220

402 Cfr. Al-Fasi, *al-‘Iqd al-tamín,* cit., p. 326; Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Hatib, *al-Ihata fi ahbar Granata* (Uno sguardo d’insieme sulle storie di Granata), al-Qahira 1977, v. 4, p. 31.

403 Ibn al-‘Imad al-Hanbali, *Sadarat al-dahab fi ahbar man dahab* (Perline d’oro nelle storie di chi è scomparso), al-Qahira 1351 h., v. 5, p. 329.

404 Al-Yaf’i al-Yamani, *Mir’at al-ginan wa ‘ibra al-yaqzan fi ma yu tabar min hawadit al-zaman* (Lo speccio dei *ginn* la valutazione di chi è vigile intorno agli avvenimenti temporali presi in considerazione), al-Qahira 1339 h., v. 4, p. 44.

405 **CARMONA GONZALEZ, Alfonso (**2007) De nuevo sobre Ibn Sab’in. In: 4º Congreso Internacional Valle de Ricote “Despeirta tus Sentidos”. Centro cultural de Ricote del 8 a 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Edición: Consorcio Turístico Mancomunidad “Valle de Ricote”, pp. 159-162. In p. 159. Carmona refers to the work with scarce details:
Ibn al-Khatib, *IG* (IV, 31-38). This should be: *al-Ihata, IV.*

Seeing the different opinions of the various researchers we asked the Arabist Vincent Cornell, who has 40 years' experience of Arab studies, to give us his opinion about the term *Mursi raquti al-asl* of Ibn al-Khatib. His reply was as follows on 26 October 2014:

> On the Ibn al-Khatib reference, "Mursi" could just mean the region. Ricote al-asl means that Ibn Sab'in was actually born in Ricote. This is mentioned by Ibn Khaldun too.

Unfortunately we do not know in which work Ibn Khaldun was saying that Ibn Sab'in came from Ricote. We know that Ibn Khaldun[406] notes that "a large group of people from eastern Spain and the Ricote valley" were followers of Hermeticism. For that reason we hesitantly chose Valle de Ricote as the birthplace of Ibn Sab'in.

On the other hand we have a lot of researchers who think that Ibn Sab'in was from the Ricote Valley)[407]. Al-Fasi[408] (775/1373 – 832/1428) used the nickname Al-Riquti in his work, but it was somewhat different in the case of Ibn Katir (1301-1373) of Damascus, who must have had much more information about Ibn Sab'in when he was living in this town. Ibn Katir[409] used the nickname of *Al-Riquti* in his *Al-Bidaya wa-l-Nihaya,* according to the latest research and work

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406 **IBN KHALDUN** (1991) *La Voie et la Loi: ou, Le Maìtre et le juriste.* Sindbad, pp. 279-280
See also: **URVOY, Dominique** (1972) *Une étude sociologique des mouvements religieux dans l'Espagne musulmane de la chute du califat au milieu du XIIIe siècle.* In: Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Tome 8, pp. 223-293. There is a nice development scheme of the Sufis on p. 79

407 **EL MOUSSAOUI TAIB, Abdellah** (2014) *El sufismo esotérico de Ibn Sabin, (s. VII-XIII d.C.).* Tesis doctoral. Facultad de Filosofía. Departamento de Filosofía III (Hermenéutica y Filosofía de la Historia. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, p. 31

408 **MOḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-FASI** (1966) *'Iqd Al-tamin fi Tarij Al-balad Al-amin*, Al-Qahira, Vol. 5, p. 335

409 **ISMA'IL IBN KATIR** (1947) *Al-Bidaya wa-l-Nihaya*. Critical Edition of 'Abdellah Ibn 'Abdel Muḥsin Al-Turki. Al-Qāhira, Dar Hayar, Vol. XVII, p. 497

of Abdellah El Moussaoui Taib[410]. As one can observe these three historians are from the 14th century. In other words, they did not live at the time of Ibn Sab'in.

Other historians state Valle de Ricote as a translation for Wadi Riqut[411]. The region of Valle de Ricote covered in those times the places of Fauaran (today: Abarán), Al-Darrax, Negra, Oxos (Today Ojós) Ricote, Oleya (today Ulea) and Asnete (today Villanueva de Segura).

The question here is: when did the Wadi Riqut with the Hermeticism that is of Greek origin start?

14.1.1.1. Greek philosopy

Fortunately Madeleine Fletcher helps us a little when she states[412]:

> The Almohad dynasty of twelfth century Spain and North Africa patronized the study of Greek philosophy. Almohad scholars were largely responsible for editing and annotating the texts of Aristotle which came into the hands of Thomas Aquinas, greatly facilitating the development of scholastic theology in thirteenth-century Europe.

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410 **EL MOUSSAOUI TAIB, Abdellah** (2014) *El sufismo esotérico de Ibn Sabin, (s. VII-XIII d.C.)*. Tesis doctoral. Facultad de Filosofía. Departamento de Filosofía III (Hermenéutica y Filosofía de la Historia. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, p. 31

411 **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. En: Al-Andalus, 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 379.

WESTERVELD, Govert (2015). *Ibn Sab'in of the Ricote Valley; the First and Last Islamic Place in Spain.* Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca. Blanca. 298 pages.

412 **FLETCHER, Madeleine** (1991) *The Almohad Tawhid: Theology Which Relies on Logic.* In: *Numen,* Vol. XXXVIII, Fase I, pp. 110-127. Citation on p. 110

It was in this way that the number of *monistic* and *pantheistic* tendencies increased and the Sufi Hermetist Ibn Sab'in is a good example of that.

Ibn Sab'in used the comments of Ibn Rusd (Averroes) in his work of *Sicilian Questions*. The reception of these texts of Ibn Rusd in the Arab world was very limited, so Ibn Sab'in presents a considerable exception. Another Almohad feature in the text of Ibn Sab'in is the use of two texts of al-Gazali, a mystic text (*Miskât al-anwâr*) and a philosophical text (*Maqâsid al-falâsifa*). This selection reflects the role of a great theologian in Almohad propaganda. On one hand the rationalist doctrines of Ibn Tumart are based on the integration of Greek logic in Islamic theology and jurisprudence by al-Gazali, on the other hand the Almohads recriminated the previous dynasty, the Almoravids, for having ordered the burning of the great mystical work of al-Gazali (*The revival of the religious sciences*). The Almohads came to the Iberian Peninsula without much support from the local population. The only significant exception was the movement of the Sufi and madhi Ibn Qasi. Thus al-Gazali played a key role as an integrative figure of the anti-Almoravid opposition. This role is reflected in the text of Ibn Sab'in a hundred years after the Almohad revolution[413].

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[413] **ANÓNIMO** (2005) *Tesis doctoral de Anna Ayse Akasoy.* In: Aljamía. Anuario de información bibliográfica. Volume 17. Universidad de Oviedo, pp. 93-94

14.2. In Ricote

14.2.1. Ibn Hud

The Almohad movement had given Murcia favourable cultural and economic contributions. However, the caliph Muhammad al-Nasir was a weak leader and this resulted in military weakness of the Almohads which was then exploited by other Berbers who fought a great dynastic struggle within the ruling family.

Ibn Hud aspired to restore freedom to the peoples oppressed by unjust vexations. Unlike the Almohad oppressors, Ibn Hud sought to impose taxes on an equal and fair basis[414].

According to Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo[415] various authors have written about Ibn Hud. However, only the Christian sources (*Primera Cronica General* and *De Rebus Hispaniae*) situate Ricote as the place of insurrection while the Arabic sources mention a place in the neighbourhood of Murcia named *al-Suhur* (las Peñas) o *al-Suhayrat* (los Peñascales):

14.2.1.1. Ibn al-Abbar[416]

On the 9th of Rajab in 625 (June 14 1228) the Almohads rebelled against Ibn Hud in al-Sujur or Sujayrat, "the Peñas or Peñones" in the region of Murcia and near the Segura River.

[414] **PILES IBARS, Andrés** (1901) *Valencia árabe.* Valencia, p. 619

[415] **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1972) *La división territorial en la España Musulmana (II).* La Cora de "Tudmir" (Murcia)In: Al-Andalus: revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, Vol. 37, Nº. 1, pp. 145-191. Citation on pp. 167-168

[416] **IBN AL-ABBAR** (1963), Al-Hulla al-Siyara', ed. Husayn Mu'nis, El Cairo, II, p. 308.

14.2.1.2. Ibn ‘Idari[417]

On the 9th of Rajab in 625 (June 14 1228) the Almohads rebelled against Ibn Hud in al-Sujur or Sujayrat, "the Peñas or Peñones" in the region of Murcia and near the Segura River.

14.2.1.3. Ibn al-Khatib

The toponym of al-Sujur was quoted by Ibn al-Khatib[418] according to Emilio Molina López[419].

14.2.1.4. Al-Himyari

It was at the foot of the Hisn al-Sujur or castle of the Peñascos where according to al-Himyarî Ibn Hud revolted against the Almohads, starting from there to the conquest of the old kingdom of Murcia and expelling the Africans. The departure of Al-Mu’min to his court of Morocco in 1228 was the moment to take advantage by the Spanish Muslims to rise as a single man against the Almohads’ domination; these were expelled and killed in all regions of the country. Upon casting the Almohads the rebel chiefs of the Muslim cities hastened to recognize the sovereignty of Abenhud, the emir of Murcia. Thus in a relatively short time he was the owner of almost the whole of al-Andalus and even came to dominate Ceuta for three months[420].

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417 **IBN ‘IDARI**, al-Bayan, II-III: **HUICI MIRANDA, A.** (1953). Colección de crónicas árabes de la Reconquista. Tetuán, pp. 309-310.

418 **IBN AL-KHATIB**, Kitab A’mal, pp. 278-279. There is a Spanish translation by **CASTRILLO MÁRQUEZ, Rafaela** (1983). Kitab a’mal al-a’lam. Ibn al-Jatib; traducción, notas e índices. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura.

IBN AL-KHATIB, Ihata, II, pp. 128-132. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1978) Aziz B. Jattab, destacada personalidad política, científica y literaria murciana del siglo XIII. In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, Nº. 4, pp. 63-89. Citation on p. 78.

419 **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972). La Cora de Tudmir según Al-‘Udri (S. XI). In: Cuadernos de Historia del Islam. Universidad de Granada, p. 35.

420 **AL-HIMYARI**, al Rawd al-Mi’tar, Nº. 109, pp. 118-20 of the Arabic text.

According to Emilio Molina al-Sujur is a small fortress situated on the river of Murcia[421].

14.2.1.5. Ibn Abi Zar

An exception is Ibn Abi Zar who does not mention Ricote, but Uriwala (or Arbuna, according to another reading)[422]. Could Uriwala have been today's Orihuela?

14.2.1.6. Ibn Azkar

Ibn Azkar, a writer of several books, also wrote about Ibn Hud stating that he began the insurrection in Murcia and the whole of Al-Andalus followed him. He left the Almohads in the year 626 (30 November 1228 - 20 November 1229). He was proclaimed in Malaga on Monday 29 of sa'ban of the following year (13 July 1230). On the first day the *jutba* was read in his name and in the Abbasids it was the fourth of Ramadan of the same year (July 17)[423]. There's no word about Ricote here.

LEVI-PROVENCAL, E. (1938) *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age, d'aprés le "Kitâb ar-Rawd al Mi'târ fî habar al-aqtâr" d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Mu'mim al-Himyarî.* Leiden. p. 180

GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano (1905) *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*. Edición de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia, 1980, pp. 270-273

421 **AL-HIMYARI**, Rawd, pp. 110/144 and **LEVI-PROVENCAL, E**. (1938) *La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age, d'aprés le "Kitâb ar-Rawd al Mi'târ fî habar al-aqtâr" d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Mu'mim al-Himyarî.* Leiden , p. 144, note 1.

Both cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972) *La Cora de Tudmir según Al-'Udri (S. XI)*. In: Cuadernos de Historia del Islam. Universidad de Granada, p. 35

422 **IBN ABI ZAR** (1972) *Rawd al-qirt sa*, ed. Rabat, p. 274. Cited by **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2005) *El valle de Ricote en época Andalusí*. In: Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos". Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 140

423 **IBN ASKAR,** Ta' rij Malaqa cited by **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1966) *Una fuente importante*. In: Al-Andalus XXXI, pp. 237-265. Citation on p. 260

14.2.1.7. Primera Crónica General

The book “Estoria de España” of King Alfonso X the Wise, written around 1284 and edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, shows that Ibn Hud (Abenhut) rose in the castle of Ricot:

> (....) et esos dias del rey don Fernando, leuantose en el castiello Ricot, en termino de Murçia, un moro que dizien Abenhut; et començo de guerrear contra los almohades[424].

Gaspar Remiro[425] mentions a slightly different text:

> «En aquel tiempo, dice, era Aben-Suc (por Abenhud) un moro que se levantara en Ricota, un castillo de Murcia, que se alçó contra los almohadas, que apremiaban cruelmente los moros de aquese mar, é ellos con la gran premia de los almohades, levantáronse con Aben-Suc é rescibiéronlo por señor en la tierra de Murcia...»

In that year Ibn Hud, surnamed Al-mutawakkel-‘alaillah (he who relies on God), rose in arms against the Almohads, the African conquerors and rulers of Mohammedan Spain. Ibn Húd caused himself to be proclaimed king at a place called As-sokheyrah [Ricote], in the neighbourhood of Murcia[426]. The fact that Ibn Hud rose in the village of Ricote is confirmed by king Alfonso X[427].

14.2.1.8. Rodericus Ximenius de Rada

De rebus Hispaniae or *Historia gothica* is history of the Iberian Peninsula written in Latin by Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the first half of the thirteenth century on behalf of King

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[424] **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1793/1968). Primera Crónica General de España, ed. Menéndez Pidal, II, p. 721.

[425] **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia Musulmana. Edición de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia, 1980, p. 270.

[426] **VARIOUS AUTHORS** (1848). The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge, Volume II, London, pp. 297-298.

[427] **KING ALFONSO X** (1252-1284). Estoria de España edited by **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1977). Primera Crónica General de España. Editorial Gredos, pp. 721-722.

Ferdinand III of Castile[428]. The work of this historian shaped the chronicle that was to play a starring role in the second half of the thirteenth century: Alfonso X of Castile's history of Spain, *Estoria de España* (1252–1284). This book states that Ibn Hud rose in *Rechoc*:

> **De captione Capellae, et fundatione Ecclesiae Toleti, et Abenhut. - CAP. XIII**
> Et procedens iterum contra Mauros, obsedit Capellam, castrum munitissimum in dioecesi Toletana, et diutinis impugnationibus tandem cepit, et expletis quattuordecim hebdomadibus expeditionis, ad urbem regiam est reversus. Et tunc iecerunt primum lapidem Rex et Archiepiscopus Rodericus in fundamento Ecclesiae Toletanae, quae in forma Mezquitae á tempore Arabum adhuc stabat, cuius fabrica opere mirabili de die in diem, non sine grandi admiratione hominum, exaltatur. In diebus huius Regis Fernandi surrexit quidam, nomine Abenhut, in castro Rechoc in territorio Murciensi, et coepit contra Almohades rebellare, qui cismarinos Arabes adeo crudeli dominio opprimebant, quod de facili Abenhuti proposito consenserunt; et obtenta Murcia et finitimis oppidis et castellis, omnes Almohades, quos habere potuit, capite detruncavit, et omnes Mezquitas praesentia Almohadum iudicans inquinatas, aspersione aquae fecit à suis sacerdotibus expiari, et armorum suorum insignia fecit nigra, quae in bellis et alibi praeferebat, quasi luctu praesignans gentis suae: excidium: et in modico tempore obtinuit Vandaliam Hispanorum, praeter Valentiam et confinia, in quibus Zaen de genere regio rebellavit. Erat autem Abenhut de genere Abohaget, olim Regis Caesaraugustae, et cum fere Monarchus in cismarina Vandalia haberetur, audacia, largitate, iustitia, veritate, prout gentis eius infidelitas, seu versutia tolerat, praeeminebat. Sed à quodam suorum, qui Abenromam dicitur, invitatus ad epulas et delicias familiares, quas gentis illius colit voluptas, factione hospitis et vasalli occiditur in conclavi apud praesidium Almariae. Et tunc invaluit Arabs quidam, dictus Mahoma Alienalaginar, qui paulo ante bovis et aratri vestigia sequebatur. Hic. Arionae, et Giennii, Granatae, Vastae, et Accii, et locis aliis adhuc hodie principatur: et post interitum Abenhuti Vandalia cismarina in, plures Regulos est divisa, et ab Almohadibus separata, quod Christianis utile invenitur.

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[428] **RADA, Rodericus Ximenius de** (1243/1968). *De rebus Hispaniae, apud Opera,* reimpresión facsímil de la ed. De 1793, Valencia-Anubar 1968, cap. XIII, pp. 202-203. [first publ. *PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant Opera,* ed. Francisco de Lorenzana, III (Madrid: apud viudam Ioachimi Ibarra, 1793)]

14.2.1.9. Newspaper of Murcia

Another text that deals with Ibn Hud (which we will not translate) was found in an ancient newspaper of Murcia from 1793:

> Abenhuc, uno de los Moros mas valerosos, y valientes, que se encontraban por aquellos tiempos, viendose Señor de las tierras del valle de Ricote, Calasparra, Tobarra, Munera, y otros pueblos del estado de Jorquera, como Hellin con su fuerte Castillo, y muchas tierra circunvecinas a él, intentó hacerse dueño de Murcia viendo el estado deplorable de Aboceid, que de dia en dia iba decayendo del concepto de todos, con las pérdidas que tubo, y las contribuciones que ofreció a los Reyes Católicos: en fin año 1221, se aclamó por Rey de Ricote, en cuyo tiempo pasó a Extremadura contra el Rey de Leon Don Alonso, quien con los Caballeros del Orden de Santiago le venció, por la parte de Badajoz; pero esto no obstante, era tal su orgullo, que consiguió que su exercito lo aclamase por Rey de Murcia, año 1228, y aunque la poseía con el titulo de Soberano, no tomó posesión de ella hasta que movidos sus abitantes de su buen proceder, se la entregaron gustosisimos.
>
> Con estos buenos sucesos, llegó a tal su poder, que consiguió ser obedecido por los Reyes de Granada, Cordoba, y Almeria, y en fin, a obtener todo quanto los Moros poseian en España, menos Sevilla, y Valencia, que tenían sus Reyes separados. Aboceid como ya diximos, fue Caudillo de los Almohades, y Abenhu de los Almoravides Moros, de secta contraria a la de aquellos, la que profesaba con un fanatismo tan increible, que a los que no la seguian los pasaba luego a cuchillo.
>
> No obstante su poder, en el referido año 1228 el Rey Don Alonso de Leon, le ganó a Mérida a tiempo que venia a socorrer a Cordoba, la que se hallaba sitiada por dicho Abenhuc, contra el Rey de Castilla San Fernando, levantando el sitio, a causa de ser llamado por su amigo Zaen Rey de Valencia, que se hallaba muy oprimido por el Rey Don Jayme primero de Aragon; salió Abenhuc de Ecija, donde se hallaba auxiliando a Cordoba, y se dirigió acia Valencia para su defensa, pero llegando a Almeria, donde tenia prevenida su armada a fin de hacerse a la vela; un Moro gran privado cuyo llamado Abenrramen, le quito la vida año 1236, cuya causa se ignora, habiendo reynado desde aclamación en Ricote 16 años, y en Murcia 8. Su muerte fue causa de que se levantasen muchos Reyes Moros, como sucedió en Arjona, y Granada, los que duraron poco llamote el alzado por Rey de Granada Mahomet Abenhamar; pero los Moros de Murcia le tenian tal odio

que no le quisieron obedecer, antes aclamaron por su Rey a Hudiel Aboaques, Hijo de Abenhuc[429].

Loose translation:

Abenhuc, one of the bravest and most courageous Moors at the time, being the Lord of the lands of the Ricote, Calasparra, Tobarra, and Munera Valleys and other towns of the state of Jorquera, such as Hellin with its strong castle and many surrounding lands, tried to become the owner of Murcia seeing the deplorable state of Aboceid, which was declining day by day from the concept of all with its losses and the contributions offered to the Catholic Monarchs: at the end of 1221 he was acclaimed by the king of Ricote, in whose time he passed to Extremadura against the King of Leon Don Alonso, who with the Knights of the Order of Santiago defeated him on the part of Badajoz. Nevertheless, his pride was so high that he got his army to acclaim him as King of Murcia in 1228 and although he bore the title of Sovereign, he did not take possession of it until his inhabitants moved their good behaviour and gave it to him very gladly.

With these good events his power was such that he managed to be obeyed by the Kings of Granada, Cordoba, and Almeria, and finally get everything that the Moors possessed in Spain, except Seville and Valencia which had their kings separated. Aboceid, as we mentioned in the past, was a leader of the Almohads, and Abenhud of the Almoravid Moors, a sect contrary to those Almohads that the Almoravids professed with such incredible fanaticism that those who did not follow them would then pass to the knife.

Despite his power, in 1228 King Don Alonso de Leon beat him in Merida at the time he came to the aid of Cordoba, which was besieged by Abenhuc, against the King of Castile San Fernando. He raised the site because of being called by his friend Zaen, King of Valencia, who was very oppressed by King Don Jayme The First of Aragon; Abenhuc left Ecija, where he was assisting Cordoba, and went to Valencia for his defense, but arriving in Almeria, where he had forewarned his army in order to sail; a large private Moor called Abenrramen killed him in 1236, of which the cause is ignored. Abenhud had reigned since his acclamation in Ricote 16 years ago, and Murcia 8 years ago. His death was the cause that many Moors Kings rose, as had happened in Arjona and Granada. That was only for a short time due to the elevation by

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429 **ANÓNIMO** (1793). Correo Literario de Murcia (....). Tomo Seguro. Correo de Murcia del Sabado 16 de Marzo de 1793, Cap. XX de la Historia de Murcia. Imprenta de la Viuda de Felipe Teruél: Vive en la Lenceria. Murcia, nº 57, pp. 169-170.

> the King of Granada, Mahomet Abenhamar. However, the Moors of Murcia hated him so much that they did not want to obey him. They preferred to acclaim Hudiel Aboaques, the son of Abenhuc, as their king[430].

14.2.1.10. Mariano Gaspar y Remiro

The insurrection of the Spanish Muslims began against the Almohad government. Apparently the first of them and, no doubt, his soul and personification, was a daring descendant of the ancient Benihud kings of Zaragoza. His name was Abu Abdalah, and he was the son of Yusuf Abenhud of Chodam. The Arab authors echo that voice among the people of the time, the one by the same name and surname, was to rise against the Almohads expelling them from the Peninsula and constituting an independent kingdom for themselves; for this reason some governors of the districts took precautions, and even a person of Jaén was killed. Whatever it may have been, the undisputed fact is that Abenhud having assembled some brave soldiers from the indigenous garrison of Murcia, he left this city on the 9th of Racheb according to some, or at the end of the same month, as others say, of the year 625 (1227) in the direction of a place which the authors call Assojairat or Assajur (peñascales), located near Ricote, belonging to the district of Murcia, and he could have fortified himself in a castle called Alarbona[431].

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[430] **ANONYMOUS** (1793) *Literary Mail of Murcia (...).* Safe Volume. Mail of Murcia of Saturday, March 16th, 1793, Chap. XX of the History of Murcia. Print of the Widow of Felipe Teruél: Lives in Lenceria. Murcia, nº 57, pp. 169-170

[431] **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*. Edición de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia, 1980, pp. 269-270

14.2.1.11. Francisco Cascales

In this book we see that the insurrection of Ibn Hud was in a place that the Arabs call *Guid Ricot,* viz. a territory that was called *Valde Ricote* (Ricote Valley):

> Con esta nueva coronación se alteraron algunos Alcaydes, y principalmente Ali-Cinhigi, que se alzó con Ciudad de Morviedro, y otro Alcayde llamado AliAbenhumin que se alzó con unos lugares que llaman los árabes Guid Rocot: que sin duda es lo que llamamos oy Valde Ricote.
> ....
> En vida de Abuceid ya Christiano se levantó Abenhud, Señor del Val de Ricote, valiente, y brioso Moro, y electo por Rey de Valencia, y Murcia, en breve tiempo se hizo el mas poderoso Rey de toda España; ganó no solo este y el Reyno de Valencia, pero casi toda la Andalucía, donde andaba con un gran Exercito de gente que había sacado de este Reyno de Murcia, sin la que se le había juntado del Andalucía[432].

With regards to the Arabic sources it is important to take note of the observations of the Arabist Alfonso Carmona González who has doubts about the Ricote place:

> It seems to be possible that the authors of the aforementioned Christian chronicles could see Ricote where the translators who had commissioned the examination of the Arabic sources said *Roquedo* or something like that. The strange thing is that this unfounded information of the Castilian historians, repeated by Mariao Gaspar, has been unanimously considered valid in the historiography of the last century[433].

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[432] **CASCALES, Francisco** (1775). *Discursos Históricos de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Murcia.* Murcia, pp. 17 and 23.

[433] **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2005) *El valle de Ricote en época Andalusí*. In: Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos". Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 141

14.2.2. El-Riqutí Al-Mursi

Christian Spain was the most important cultural bridge between the Arabic world and Europe for centuries. Arabic sciences were to play an important role in the history of European science and civilization.

The Muslims played a principal role in the history of Spain. Their presence illuminated the Iberian Peninsula while the rest of Europe was engulfed in darkness. And so Andalusia produced a great civilization far more advanced than the rest of Europe. Under their rule the Muslims made Spain a center of learning and knowledge.
Scientific creativity in the Middle Ages, however, is mainly found in the Arabic texts. If, therefore, one wants to rewrite the history of the Middle Ages as a whole and revalue its intellectual heritage, one must consciously consider the Arabic literature.

For that reason the inhabitants of Ricote and the whole of Ricote Valley can be proud to have had the sage al-Riqutí on its territories.

Till now the various studies of al-Riqut have been brief and it is worthwhile to study in more detail this great sage whose origin is from Ricote, a village that belongs to the Ricote Valley in the Region of Murcia, formerly known as Tudmir. So we will indicate some authors, hoping that we so come to a better biography of al-Riquti.

14.2.2.1. Ibn Al-Khatib

There is only one good source of information about Muhammad Al-Riquti. It comes from the Muslim chronicler Ibn Al-Khatib (713/1313-776/1375) who wrote about him:

> Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Riquti Al-Mursi ..... He was outstandingly eminent in his knowledge of the ancient arts: logic, mathematics, arithmetic,

> music and medicine. He was a philosopher and an expert physician, a sign of God in the knowledge of languages. He taught the nations in their own languages [my italics] the arts they wished to learn ..... The Tyrant-King of the Christians knew (the rank) to which he was entitled (because of his scholarship), after he had conquered Murcia. Thus he built for him a *madrasa* in which he could teach the Muslims, Christians and Jews and (where) he continued to be held in esteem by him (i.e. the King)[434].

We know the texts of Ibn al-Khatib thanks to the works of al-Maqqari[435] in his *Nafh al-tib.* Furthermore there are biographical details from the pens of Asin Palacios[436], Ribera[437], Sarton[438], and Rachel Arie[439]. The latest author also used the biography of al-Riquti that appears in *al-Durar al-kamino* of Ibn Hajar[440] al-'Asqalani.

14.2.2.2. Imam Ibn Hajar

Abu'l-Fadl Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Ali al-Kannani al Asqalani, better known by the name of Imam Ibn Hajar, was born in Cairo in 773/1372. He began studies at the age of five and had memorised the Qur'an by the age of nine. A Shafi`i scholar and hadith master, he studied with renowned scholars in Cairo, Yemen, and the Hijaz. Known as Shaykh al-Islam, scholars travelled from faraway lands to

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434 Ibn Al-Khatib, Al-Ihata fi akhbar Gharnata, vol. 3, pp. 67-8. Wieger quotes the translation of Van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts", pp. 81. See: **WIEGER, Gerard Albert** (1994) Islamic Literatur in Spanish and Aljamiado. Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedent & Successors, p. 52.

435 **DOZY, Reinhart** (1855-1861) *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes de l'Espagne.* Leyde, Vol. II, p. 510

436 **ASIN PALACIOS, Miguel** (1961) *La escatología musulmana de la Divina Comedia. Seguida de la historia y crítica de una polémica,* 3.ª ed. Madrid, p. 370

437 **RIBERA, Julián** (1928) *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles.* "Disertaciones y opúsulos", I, pp. 244-246

438 **SARTON, George** (1931) *Introduction to the History of Science,* I.H.S. Vol. II, p. 865

439 **ARIE, Rachel** (1973) *L'Espagne Musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492).* Paris, p. 424

440 **IBN HAYAR** (1373/1954) Al-'Asqalani, *Al-Durar al-Kamina,* Vol. III, Hyderabad, p. 331, biography Nº. 992

get knowledge from him. Appointed to the position of chief judge several times, he authored more than fifty works on hadith, history, biography, Quranic exegesis, poetry, and Shafi`i jurisprudence; among the most famous of them is his fourteen-volume commentary on Sahih al-Bukhari called Fath al-Bari. He died in Cairo in 852/1449.

14.2.2.3. Areeg Abrahi

With regards to al-Riqutí, we will start with the translation made by Areeg Abrahim of the Harvard University who used the work of al-Khatib know as al-Ihata:

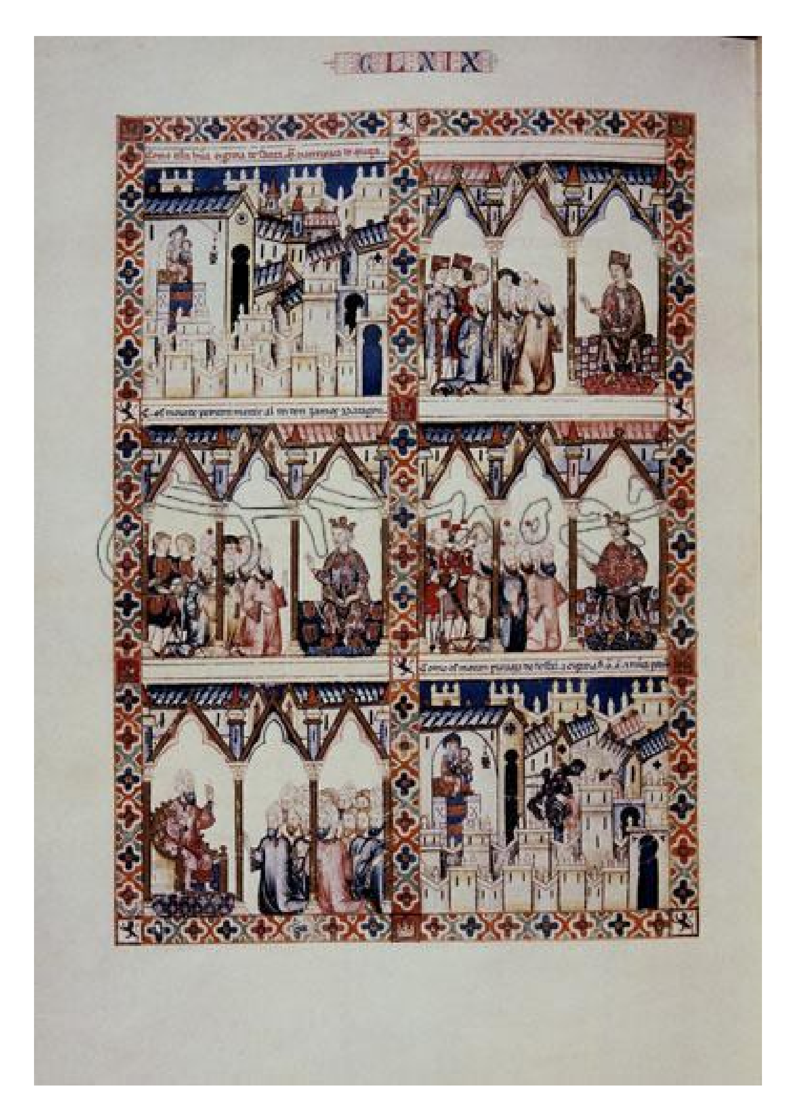
> Mohammad Ibn Ahmad El-Riquti Al-Mursi (El Ricotí 1230? – 1295?), also called Abu-Bakr was a celebrity born in Ricote (Murcia) who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century and VII of the Hegira. He was noted for his formidable knowledge in ancient arts: Logic, Geometry, Mathematics, Medicine and Music and his eloquent oratory. He was a philosopher and an expert physician, a sign of God in the knowledge of different languages. He was a person of good knowledge and of pride.
> The despot of Rome[441], who captured Murcia recognized his worth, built him a school, around the year 668/1268. Alfonso the Wise knew that el Ricotí was a prodigy for his vast and profound knowledge and dominated all Arab sciences and the so-called ancient ones (Mathematics, Medicine, Music, Logic and other branches of Philosophy). Consequently, King Alfonso instructed him the teaching in this school, around the year 668/1269.
>
> His disciples were Moors, Jews and Christians. Students adored their teacher, who had the unique ability of being able to explain to everyone in the language of the student. King Alfonso treated him lavishly, trying to attract him with salaries, honors and awards, in the hope of converting him some day to Christianity. Ricotí's fame came to Granada, and the second Masrid Sultan (viz. Mohammad II Al-Faqih, reigned 671/1272-701/1302)[442] invited him to

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[441] I thank Prof. Areeg A. Ibrahim of the Harvard University for facilitating me in 2014 the complete translation from Arabic of the biography of Mohammed Ahmed El-Riquti Al-Mursi is taken from a book by Lissan Al-Din Ben Al-Khateeb entitled AL-IHATA FI AKHBAR GHERNATA, [THE COMPREHENSIVE REPORT ABOUT GRANADA].

[442] Prof. Ibrahim speaks in his note about Mohammed I, the Nasrid king of Granada.

be move the capital of the kingdom to teach the people of his law, and so Ricotí decided to leave the service of Alfonso X.



Cantiga 169 - Arrixaca in Murcia

Once in Granada, the same Sultan, became his disciple and gave him a beautiful house with garden that Ricotí converted in a school, where he taught medicine, Mathematics and other sciences. He used to ride to the Sultan's

residence on a lanky mule; a friendly man, well dressed, nobly walking, until he died there [in Granada], God have mercy upon him.

14.2.2.4. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld

This time an English translation about al-Riqutí has been made by my countryman, the arabist (see Appendix 19.6), Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld)[443]:

> Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Riquti Al-Mursi (....). He was outstandingly eminent in his knowledge of the ancient arts: logic, mathematics, arithmetic, music and medicine. He was a philosopher and an expert physician, a sign of God in the knowledge of languages. He taught the nations in their own languages [my italics] the arts they wished to learn (......). The Tyrant-King of the Christians knew (the rank) to which he was entitled (because of his scholarship), after he had conquered Murcia. Thus he built for him a *madrasa* in which he could teach the Muslims, Christians and Jews and (where) he continued to be held in esteem by him (i.e. the King).
> One of the anecdotes told about his contacts with the Kins is the following. One day, when he (al-Riquti) had lowered his rank by speaking in glowing term of his (i.e., the King's) favour (towards himself), he (i.e., the King) said to him: 'If you became a Christian and (thus) reached a state of perfection, then you would obtain such and such position with me, and you would be this and that'. He (al-Riquti) gave him an agreeable answer. But after he had left him, he said to this companions: 'At the moment I (only) worship One. Yet, as I am (already) unable to fulfil my obligations to Him, what would become of me, should I worship Three, as he requires from me?'
> Then the Sultan of the Muslims, the second king of the Banu Nasr, invited him to come over and became his pupil. He allocated to him the fairest living-place in his residence. Students used to visit his house, which was know to be his (.....). So medicine and other disciplines were learnt under his supervision."

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443 Ibn Al-Khatib, Al-Ihata fi akhbar Gharnata, vol. 3, pp. 67-8. **KONINGSVELD, Pieter Sjoerd van** (1992) *Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts* from *Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach.* In: *Israel Oriental Studies, XII.* New York, pp. 75-112. Citation on p. 81

14.2.2.5. Julio Samso

However, not all Arabists translate the work of al-Khatib concerning al-Riqutí the same way, and for that reason here is my English translation of the Spanish translation made by Julio Samso[444]:

> Distinguished man by his knowledge in the ancient sciences: logic, geometry, arithmetic, music, and medicine. Philosopher and skilled physician. A miracle of God for his linguistic knowledge: he taught to the different nations in their own languages the disciplines that were characteristic to them and that they wanted to know. Highly paid for himself, proud and proud. The tyrant of Christians [Alphonso X] recognized his merits when he seized Murcia [in 1266], he built a *madrasa* school in which he could teach Muslims, Christians, and Jews, and he always held him in high esteem.
> Among the curious anecdotes about his relations with him is the following: [the monarch] said to him one day [in 1271], having raised his rank and published his fame: 'If you became a Christian and attained perfection with it, you would obtain from me this thing and such another and you would be like this and so'. Then [Al-Riqut] gave a reply that might satisfy [the king], and when he came out of his presence, he said to his companions: 'If I now adore one [God] and I am unable to behave with him in a due manner, what would my situation be if I had to worship three [gods] as he pretends from me?
>
> He was required by the sultan of the Muslims, the second of the Nasrí monarchs, to go [to Granada in 1273] and became his disciple. He planted himself in the most suitable place of his residence and students went to his house which was well known because of him and is now of my [his] property. He taught medicine and other disciplines in which he had no competence.
> He was a man of great power of conviction, very skilled in controversy. The sultan met him with those who came to his court and who stood out as professionals of a technique [*sina'a*] or a science ['ilm] and he surpassed them all in the solidity of his knowledge and reputation, as will be referred to in the biography of Abu-l -Hasan al-Ubbadi y de Abu-l-Qasim b. Jalsun, if God wills. He went to the court of the Sultan with great calm, on the back of a skinny mule, in his clean clothes and with a tired way of walking, until he died there. God be merciful to him.

444 **SAMSO, Julio** (1981) *Dos colaboradores científicos musulmanes de Alfonso X.* In: Llull, vol. 4, pp. 171-179. Citation on p. 173

14.2.2.6. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Jalsun

There is a biography of Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Jalsun in the work of al-Khatib[445] that also has to do with Ibn Riqutí as we can see in the following passage:

> He went to Granada [in 1273]. The teacher [*al-ustad*] Abu 'Abd Allah [sis] al-Riquti was there. He had gained the esteem of the sultan. His mission was to test those who could be useful to the court among those who professed a technique [sina'a]. The sultan was angry with Ibn Jalsun because in his youth he had praised, in a well-known cassia, one of those who rebelled against him in Comares. At the moment he appeared, the teacher [*al-ustad*] asked him: 'To what technique do you dedicate yourself?'. Ibn Jaldun replied: 'To the mystic'. [Al Riquti] then addressed himself to the Sultan and said: 'He is a weak man [*da'if*] who has nothing to offer, since he is not able to distinguish between what is [*sina'a*] and what is not. God have mercy on him.

14.2.2.7. Muhammad b. al-Sarray

There is still another reference to Ibn Riqutí in the book of Ibn Khalib. In this case it is the biography of the physician and botanist Muhammad b. al-Sarray (654 / 1256 – 730 / 1330)[446] who met Abu 'Abd Allah (*sic*) al-Riquti in Granada when he studied medicine with Abu Ya'far al-Kazni (o al-Karni). R. Arie (1973, p. 430 n. 5) alludes to this meeting and shows interest to qualify al-Riquti of *Imam al-ta'alim wa-l-ma'arif* that one could translate as 'a guide of teaching and wisdom'.

14.2.2.8. Julián Ribera

If we believe Julian Ribera, then al-Riqutí (Ricotí) also had to do with music and may have been a musician who adapted the *Cantigas.* This

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[445] **IBN KHATIB** (1976). *Al-Ihata fi tarij Garnaja.* Ed. Muhammad 'Abd Allah 'INAN, vol. III, pp. 256-257. Cited by **SAMSO, Julio** (1981). Dos colaboradores científicos musulmanes de Alfonso X. In: *Llull,* vol. 4, pp. 171-179. Citation on p. 174.

[446] **IBN KHATIB** (1976) *Al-Ihata fi tarij Garnaja.* Ed. Muhammad 'Abd Allah 'INAN, vol. III, pp. 161. Cited by **SAMSO, Julio** (1981) *Dos colaboradores científicos musulmanes de Alfonso X.* In: Llull*,* vol. 4, pp. 171-179. Citation on p. 174

idea is quite possible if we take into account that the cantiga 169 of the codex of El Escorial refers to the Cantiga de la Arrixaca in Murcia while Cantiga 239 talks about a neighbour of Murcia. There are mainly four Cantigas of the Castilian king that refer to Murcia.



¿Al-Riquti?, perhaps the musician who adapted the *Cantigas,* and a Christian, each playing an instrument from the lute family.
Cantigas 125

The Arrixaca (169), dedicated to the first patroness of the city of Murcia, is reproduced here. Number 239 of the manuscript of "El Escorial", where Murcia shows a known miracle common to many other European collections. Number 299, also in El Escorial, recounts that a miracle happened to the Knight of St. Mary of the Star. Number 339 of the same collection, which includes a maritime miracle of the Virgin, prevents shipwreck during coasting from Cartagena to Alicante.

In the Arab chronicles we find that Alfonso the Wise was on intimate terms with a certain Moslem trained in musical matters and named Abu Bekr [Al-Riqutí], of Ricote (Province of Murcia). Alfonso honoured this musician to the extent of founding a college in Murcia where he might teach his special subjects to Christians, Jews, and Moslems. The friendship must have been quite intimate, for the king went as far as to hope to be able to convert this Moor to Christianity, which the latter resisted.



Cantigas 169

This Moslem might have adapted some Arab melodies to the Cantigas, but, as he is better known as a philosopher and scholar on questions of morals and theology, he might easily have been more of a musical theorist than performer, and not the professional indicated by the

Cantigas. But the King himself has made us suspect that he wished to leave a reminiscence of this artist (at least through the interposition of the miniaturist of the Cantigas). For in the Escorial manuscript J.b.2 there are paintings of many musicians playing their instruments.

Some of their heads are merely types with no intention of portraiture. There are pairs of musicians who are both alike, two flutists, for example, and so forth. But others show features so singular and strongly marked that the intention of representing contemporaries is evident. (See illustrations.) Among them all the portrait of a Moorish musician playing a stringed instrument stands out. Near him is a Christian who is looking at him with his mouth wide open as if he were singing while the other accompanied him. For characterizing the Moors they used the infantile scheme of painting them black, as if they came from Guinea. If, by chance, they painted them white, they put them into turbans and gave them rounded beards, and sometimes, for double assurance, they did all these things. This leads one to the inference that the artists used abstract types on such occasions. The same is true in the portrayal of a Jew, for he appears with a robe down to his heels, a pointed wig, and clogs on his feet, but above all with a pronouncedly aquiline nose, although he too is a type and not an individual. But the Moor painted in the vignette of leaf 125 of the Escorial manuscript J.b.2 wears no turban[447], nor is he black (negro); he is of the swarthy but yellowish type so often seen in Andalusia nowadays. His face is painted larger than the rest and with a different type of brush stroke from those used on the other musicians. The Christian who is singing in front of the Moor is at the reader's right hand, and the Moor is at his left, so that he, the Moor, would be actually at the Christian's right in the picture.

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[447] In the Levant the people had never adopted the apparel, such as turbans, worn by Muslims in other countries. Woolen caps were worn instead of turbans, and all Andalusians donned a kind of short dark cloak – sometimes hooded – called the *taylasan* (which is probably the origin of our academic hood). In the western provinces, in Cordoba and Seville, the upper and learned classes invariably wore turbans, but the military and commoners did not even there. Cited by: **ELMORE, Gerard** (2000) *Poised Expectancy: Ibn Al-'Arabi's Roots in "Sharq Al-Andalus"*. In: Studia Islamica, Nº 90, pp. 51-56. In p. 52

In all of the miniatures the principal musician is thus placed. The rank of the musicians is also shown in that those on the reader's left wear gilded boots, while those on his right do not. Thus the Moor is in the position of honour, rather than the Christian. If he is not decked in gilded boots, it is because Moorish courtesy, then as now, compelled him to put aside his shoes on entering a house, so he is unshod. He is playing a superb stringed instrument and has been served with wine, the inseparable adjunct, as we know, of Moorish music. So might not this Moor, who seems to have nothing to do with religious compositions and yet is receiving such marked attention, be the artist who adapted the music of the Cantigas for Alfonso? That he should have been painted there, the only one of his religion among so many Christian musicians may be in recognition of this fact. His name at the moment remains a mystery. There are documents relating to the Moorish orchestra at the court of Sancho IV, with the lists of the Moriscos of whom it was composed, including their Arabic names, but so far no list has been found of the musicians of Sancho's father Alfonso X. Hitherto stops the narration of Julian Ribera[448], Professor of Arab-Spanish literature at the University of Madrid.

14.2.2.9. Arnold Steiger

Abu Bekr [Al-Riqutí], of Ricote is known as Abubéquer Mohámed Benahmed 'el Ricotí el Mursí'. On the other hand, the Swiss Arnold Steiger also wrote about the Arrixaca as follows[449]:

> Our Virgin of Arrixaca in the Church of Saint Andrew because it was sung by Alfonso X the Wise in one of his beautiful Cantigas (169):
> This is how Santa Maria kept a church that is in the Arrixaca of Murcia that the Moors wanted to destroy and could not do so.

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448 **RIBERA Y TARRAGO, Julián** (1929) *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain,* London, Oxford, pp. 224-225

449 **STEIGER, Arnald** (1958) Toponimia árabe en Murcia. In: Revista Murgetana, Nº 11, pp. 9-27. In pp. 25-26.

D'ua eigrei'antiga, De que sempr'acordar S'yan, que ali fora Da Reynna sen par Dentro na arreixaca Et yan y orar Genoeses, pisaos Et outros de Cezilla	Of an old church Of which one always remembers .... Of the Queen .... Within the Arriaxa Where will pray Genoese, ... And others from Seville

According to Steiger, this Cantiga is exceedingly instructive. It is a historical source attesting that by saying "the Arrixaca Italian merchants should have a factory already in the first years of the Reconquest, and there it would have its Sanctuary and Genoese, Pisans and Sicilians worship."

However, the name of this community is Arabic. Steiger thinks that the author Juan Bernal Segura is right with reference to the *Topónimos árabes de la Provincia de Murcia*. He identifies the term with the root rashad 'launch'. In essence, rishaqa is 'elegance', 'what has elegant height, slenderness'; it is, therefore, the elegant 'place'. Moreover, the fact is that the Arabs gave this name to the area, and the Virgin was called "the Virgin of the neighborhood of Rishaqa.'

14.2.2.10. The Murcia's school around 1250

It is indeed at this time when in the bosom of the Order of Friars Preachers or Dominicans begins to speak of "schools of languages" (studia linguarum) where the friars study Arabic as students or teach it as teachers. In a letter addressed to Gregory IX in 1237 the provincial of the Order in the Holy Land, Philip, says that he has established a language school in each convent, putting the older ones on the head, as a result of which the friars already preach in these languages, and before all in Arabic, which is the more common language among the people[450].

[450] **GIMENEZ REILLO, Antonio** (0000) *El Árabe como lengua extranjera en el S. XIII.* Medicina para convertir. In: *El Saber en al-Andalus. Textos y Estudios,* 4, pp. 147-187. Citation on pp. 147-148

After the reconquest of the Region of Murcia there was more than one scientific interchange between Muslims and Christen. This was the work of king Alfonso X the Wise who was interested in up-to-date information about the current literature and founding a new school in Murcia.
1257 Alfonso X remains in the kingdom of Murcia for more than seven months continuously, with stays documented since January: Orihuela, Elche, Alicante, Cartagena, Lorca, Murcia, and not less than two months in a row in Monteagudo, although one day he would approach Murcia. A time frame in which the Court remains in this place and it would be at that time - there is no other possible date - when the well-known cultural impulse promoted by Alfonso the Wise with the creation of a madraza and in front of Muhammad al-Ricotí could take place, and with him the beginning of translations of classical works from Arabic to Latin and Castilian (...)[451]. Especially interesting is the study of Joan Vernet in relationship to the old and new schools in Valencia and Murcia[452]:

> There is evidence of this aforementioned deeper under-standing of Muslim issues amongst old-school as well as new-school Arabists. The "new school" developed thanks to the efforts of Ramon de Penyafort (1175-1275) who founded two study centres for Hebrew and Arabic in Tunis and Murcia. Both of these schools, which were established with the help of the kings of Aragon and Castile, had apologetic leanings. Although the existence of any links between the latter school and the madrasah run by Muhammad al-Riquti is debatable, preaching priests (according to Ibn Rasiq) were certainly interested in learning about Muslim science –and translating it into their own language– with the aim of being better equipped to criticise it. It seems improbable that Riquti would have allowed himself to collaborate with these priests in such a quest, although it is possible that he may have permitted them to study in his profane science classes. Ramon Martí (a disciple of Penyafort who died c. 1286) was one of the key teachers in these centres of learning. Martí may well

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[451] **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1995-1996) *Del tratado de Alcaraz al de Almizra de la tenencia al señorío (1243-1244)*. In: *Miscellanea Medieval Murciana.* Vol. XIX-XX, pp. 279-302. Citation on p. 288

[452] **VERNET, Joan** (2009) *The Scientific World of the Crown of Aragon Under James I.* In: Quaderns de la Mediterrània, vol. 9, pp. 99-114. Citation on pp. 101-102

> have been one and the same person as the “priest of Marrakech”, who took part in an intriguing debate with Ibn Rasiq. These types of debates were a standard facet of day-to-day life at that time and they were played out both face to face as well as by letter. I am, incidentally, fortunate enough to have fleetingly seen some letters, unpublished and in Arabic, that were written by a bishop of Tarragona in the first half of the 13th century. It was via these letters, which are now stored in Morocco, that the bishop debated religious issues with a Sufi Muslim.

As fully described by Robert I. Burns[453], «Ironically it was a pious Muslim, not the busy Dominicans, who left us our only glimpse into the system actually at work. Ibn Rashiq al-Mursi, a beard-less adolescent assisting his father in drafting notarial documents at Murcia city around 1250, fell into controversy with a priest at the local center. He later recalled how a routine oath in connection with a lawsuit between a Muslim and a Christian brought him to the ample residence (dar) and church of the infidel missionaries. They comprised

> a group of priests and monks dedicated, according to them, to the devout life and to stucdying the sciences, but interested above all in the sciences [learning] of the Muslims and in translating them into their language with the object of criticizing tlhem-the most high God frustrate their projects!-eager to engage in polemic witlh Muslims, intending to lure the weak to their side.

Ibn Rashliq encountered there "a priest from Marrakesh, eloquent, widely knowledgeable, and moderate in discussion," who not only knew Arabic perfectly but was versed in the Koran, Arabic literature, and scholasticism. The Muslim found him patient, tolerant, and free from fanaticism. This may have been the great Marti, or less probably the diplomat and archdeacon of Morocco García Perez, or merely one of the local Dominican staff. The priest praised the boy, remarking that he had heard of the father's erudition and of the youth's promise as a bright student. Invited to enter amiable debate, Ibn Rashíq plunged into an extended discussion of miracles and related themes. The

[453] **BURNS, Robert Ignatius.** (1971). Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion. In: The American Historical Review, Vol. 76, Nº. 5, pp. 1386-1434. Citation on p. 1434.

experience impressed the young Muslim profoundly. Years later, perhaps after he had become *katib* to the emir of Ceuta or after his subsequent return to Granada, he composed a record of the long dialogue, preserved centuries afterward in a chance copy by another scholar. Beyond the bleak administrative records, this episode reveals something of the manner of approach and inner strength gracing the institution».

The date of the following story is unknown, but it was after the reconquest of 1243 and before the Muslim revolt of 1264. The text was probably written between 1244 and 1250 and was a religious debate between a young apprentice of alphaqui and four Christian priests of whom at least one came from Marrakech. The text provides useful information on some aspects of Muslims and Christians' coexistence in Murcia during the years immediately following the capitulation[454].
Hrbek let us know that "at the same date the *Studium Arabicum* of Tunis, founded by Dominicans on recommendation of the king of Aragon James I the Conqueror (1213-76), was in full swing. Along with seven other preaching friars it received Ramon Martini (1230-86), the author of *Pugio Fidei adver sus Mauros etjfudaeos* ('The Dagger of Faith directed against Muslims and Jews). Ramon Martini's mastery of Arabic is demonstrated by the Arabic-Latin dictionary attributed to him. In 1256 there was also a school in Seville founded at the instance of Alfonso X and run by Egidio de Tabaldis and Pietro de Reggio. Arnold of Villanova (d. 1312) was its last great figure[455]".

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[454] **Ibn Rashiq,** Kitâb ar-Rasâ'il wa-1-wâsa'il, apud Al-Wansharîsî, Mi'yâr, ed. 1981, 1.11, pp. 155-156. Translated by **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1993-94) *El reino de Murcia entre 1238 y 1275 en fuentes árabes de los siglos XIII y XIV.* In: Revista de historia del derecho europeo 5-6. Instituto de Derecho Común Europeo. Universidad de Murcia, pp. 53-62. Citation on pp. 57 and 58
GRANJA SANTAMARÍA, Fernando de la (1966) *Una polémica religiosa en Murcia en tiempos de Alfonso el Sabio*. In: Al-Andalus, 31,pp. 47-72
[455] **HRBEK, I.** (1984) *The Disintegration of Political Unity in the Maghrib*. In: General History of Africa, IV. Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century. Heinemann, California, Unesco, pp. 71-72

The *madrasa* of Al-Riqut in Murcia was one of the first schools in Spain where we initially had:
1237 Studia linguarum
1254 [or 1256] Sevilla[456]
1334 Málaga[457]
1349 Granada[458]

Though al-Khatib refers to *al-madrasa,* according to Maríntez Ripoll this has nothing to do with the Islamic institution of religious education called *madrasa.* It was probably a language school (*studium linguarum*) founded around 1266 by the Dominicans with the support of King Alfonso X. This college was, above all, to serve missionary purposes[459].

However, we have to take into account that the last word is not said here, because the same opinion does not hold among different researchers, such as Van Koningsveld, Torres Fontes[460], and Giménez Reíllo.

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456 **SAMSO, Julio** (1981) *Dos colaboradores científicos musulmanes de Alfonso X.* In: *Llull,* vol. 4, pp. 171-179. Citation on p. 177

457 **RUBIERA MAT, M.J.** (1970) *Datos sobre una 'madrasa' en Málaga anterior a la nasri de Granada.* In: *Al-Andalus,* 35, pp. 243-254

458 **RIBERA, Julián** (1928) *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles. "Disertaciones y opúsculos",* I. Madrid, pp. 229-359

459 **MARTÍNEZ RIPOLL, Antonio** (1968) *Aportaciones a la vida cultural de Murcia en el siglo XIII (La madrissa de M. al-Ricotí y el studium solemne de los dominicos)*. In: Murgetana, 68, pp. 35-46

CHORAO LAVAJO, Joaquim (1982) *Túnis e o primeiro studium arabicum hispánico do sáculo XIII: problemática do capítulo dominicano de Toledo de 1250.* In: Actas do XI congresso da uniao europeia de arabistas e islamólogos: Evaro-Faro-Silves, 29 set. – 6 out. Islao e arabismo na península ibérica. Editadas por Adel Sidarus, pp. 225-252

460 **TORRES FONTES, Juan** (1953) *"El obispado de Cartagena en el siglo XIII"*, *Hispania*, 13 (1953), pp. 339-401; 515-580. Citation on p. 386

15. WADI RIQUT

15.1. Wahda mutlaqa

The inhabitants of *Wadi Riqut* (Ricote Valley) adhered in those years to an extremist mystical doctrine known as *Wahda mutlaqa*[461]. Various places are eligible for the practice of this teaching: Puerto de la Losilla, Darrax, or the previous mosque of Ricote, today converted into Ricote's church.

The fact that the *wahda mutlaqa* is referred to the Ricote Valley and not specifically to the village of Ricote may imply that the followers of this religion did not live in Ricote.

15.1.1. Intruders

The inhabitants of Ricote who lived in their village from the 11th century would not have allowed intruders in on their way of living. The intruders were the Almoravids and Almohads, thus the Berbers. It is logical to think that the Berbers established themselves in new places. Franco Sánchez let us know the necessary conditions for them[462]:

> As the first conclusion we can affirm that the *ribat* is the place where pious Muslims who wish to fulfill the precept of holy war meet each other. Although *jihad* has a military character, the character of the *ribats* is rather

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461 **MASSIGNON, L.** (1982) *The Passion of Al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam.* 4 Vols. Translated from the French by H. Mason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Vol. II, p. 331

MASSIGNON, Louis (1975) *La Passion de Hosayn b. Mansour Hallaj: martyr mystique de l'Islam exécuté à Baghdad le 26 mars 922*: 4 vols., New ed., Bibliothèque des Idées, Paris, Gallimard

462 **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2004) *Rábitas y Al-Monastir(es) en el norte y levante de la península de Al-Andalus.* In: La Rábita en el Islam. Estudios Interdisciplinares Congressos Internacionales de Sant Carles de la Rápita (1989, 1997). Ajuntament de Sant Carles de la Ràpita. Universitat d'Alacant, pp. 95-110. Citation on p. 96

> spiritual, so they are not part of the military defensive system and the walls surrounding the enclave are for their own defense. At first they are located in the borders of Islamic territories and in the crossings of roads where there is water and the possibility of cultivation in its surroundings.

As we know, there were good possibilities of cultivation in the zone of Darrax and on the other hand there was plenty of water, because Darrax is nearby the river Segura. The fortified granary could have served for the military defense system of this *ribat*.

The peculiar form of social behaviour of the Berbers is known, as well as their nonsubmission and isolationism. Ibn Khaldun let us know the general characteristics of the Berbers in Al-Andalus:

> The population of these regions is composed of Berbers, people organized in tribes each of which is animated by a strong spirit of *'asabiyya* (tribal or clan feeling), but without any result, opting by repeated insurrections and apostasy; every moment they rise in arms without being restrained by the rigorous punishments that were inflicted by the Arab troops[463].

15.1.2. The Persecution of Sufís

According to the general studies of the Almoravids these new rulers were engaged in the persecution of Sufism (*al-Tasawwuf*). However, the study of Mohamed Said Achekar gives us a totally different picture. Certain Sufis have been condemned, but not for their doctrine, but by its political position. The Almoravid reaction and its persecution of the leaders of radical movements was logical and part of the right of the authorities to defend its existence[464].

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[463] **IBN JALDUN** (1977) *Introducción a la Historia Universal, al-Muqaddimah*; estudio preliminar, revisión y apéndices de Elías Trabulse, México. Cited by (without indicating any page number): **FRANCO MORENO, Bruno** (2005) *Distribución y asentamientos de tribus bereberes (Imazighen) en el territorio emeritense en époc emiral (S. VIII-X).* In: A y TM 12, pp. 39-50. Citation on p. 40

[464] **MOHAMED SAID ACHEKAR** (1998) *Otra visión sobre la vida intelectual durante la época almorávide*. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* (*MEAH*), Sección árabe-islam 47, pp. 1-26

15.1.3. The castle

In her study of the medieval settlement in the Sierra de los Filabres (Almería) Patrice Cressier explaining the architectural structure of the fortress says[465]:

> Here is the key role of the political organization of space, which explains the similarity of structures despite the great differences between one area and another: the Almanzora valley is densely and richly preIslamic, as well as an area from Murcia to Granada, with a strong urban tradition, while the valleys of the southern slope are far from the main roads with no clear preIslamic background. Isolated, easily they become centers of religious rebellion (*jariyi* according to Ibn Hazm in early times, *sufi* in the Almohad period)[466].

This is exactly what happened with the isolated place of the Ricote Valley that became a Sufi place and probably also the center of religious rebellion. As we know, the castle of Negra was not built before 1170, thus we have to think only of the Almohad period.

15.1.4. Tribal House

In short, researchers did not have much knowledge of this type of collective granaries. Even the ancient date of the collective granaries was not known. No doubt that the discovery of the granary of Darrax could help a lot more in the establishment of such a date.

15.1.4.1.1. Jacques Meunié

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[465] **CRESSIER, Patrice** (1987) *El poblamiento medieval de la Sierra de los Filabres (Almería): primeros resultados*. In: *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española.* Madrid, vol. II, pp. 549-558
CRESSIER, Patrice (1992) *El poblamiento medieval de la Sierra de los Filabres (Almería): primeros resultados*. In: *Estudios de arqueología medieval en Almería,* pp. 175-192. Citation on p. 179

[466] **LEVI-PROVENÇAL, Evariste** (1976) *España musulmana hasta la caida del califato de Córdoba (711-1031 de J.C.)*. Madrid, p. 106

Jacques-Meunié's idea of the term collective granary, synonym of agadir, can give us a broader idea of what could have been the function of the granary in Darrax:

> Le terme «grenier collectif» est assez ínexact, mais que nous continuons á en user, n'en ayant pas imaginé de meilleur, à la fois court et expressif. Peut-étre pourrait-on préférer á «grenier collectif» l'appellation «maison de tribu», traduction un peu vague de l'un des termes employés en berbère (*irherm n teqebilt, agadir eljemáat, agadir Iekhzin*).
> Le grenier dit collectif n'est en effet que le groupement de cases à grain índividuelles, chacune de ces cases ayant été construite par une famille dont elle demeure la propriété et qui en assure l'entrctien. Les propriétaires choisissent un gardien ou portier, en permanence dans l'édifice, et assurent sa subsistance; de plus, autrefois du moins, ils montaient la garde, jour et nuit, personnellement á tour de róle. C'est donc une réunion de cases individuelles, gardées collectivement, et non une mise en commun des récoltes et autres biens, ainsi que pourrait le donner á penser le terme de magasin collectif. Cet établissement pourrait, dans une certaine mesure, étre comparé en France aux immeubles d'habitation par appartements; lorsque les divers étages appartiennent á des propriétaires différents, ils n'ont guére de collectif que le concierge, l'escalier, l`ascenseur et l'enlévement des ordures. Ceci étant posé, conservons le terme de grenier ou magasin collectif consacré par l'usage et essayons d'envisager cette institution dans ce qu'elle a de plus général. L'origine de la maison de tribu ou grenier collectif reste tout á fait obscure, l'époque et le lieu de son apparition nous sont encore inconnus.
>
> **Translation:**
>
> The term collective granary is rather inaccurate, but we continue to use it until we find a better, short, and expressive term. Perhaps it would be preferable to use the term "maison de tribe" (tribal house) as a collective house, a rather vague translation of one of the terms used in Berber language (*irherm n teqebilt, agadir eljemaat, agadir lekhzin*). The collective granary is in fact a grouping of individual boxes of grain, each of which has been built by a family of which it remains the property and which ensures its maintenance. The owners choose a keeper or doorman to be permanently in the building and ensure his subsistence; moreover, at one time at least they were guarding day and night, taking turns. It is therefore a collection of individual huts kept collectively, and not a pooling of crops and other goods, as might be suggested by the term collective store. To a certain extent this establishment could be compared to apartment buildings in France: when the various floors belong to different owners, they have hardly any collective function except the concierge, the staircase, the elevator, and the removal of garbage. This

being said, let us preserve the term of granary or collective store consecrated by the use and try to envisage this institution more in general. The origin of the tribal house in our collective granary remains quite obscure, the time and place of its appearance are still unknown to us[467].

15.1.4.1.2. Ramou Hassan and others

Ramou Hassan et Asmhri El Mahfoud after studying the hypothesis of other researchers explains that the agadir is an institution with multiple political, legal, social, religious, and societal roles[468]:

> En effet, la fonction politique de l'agadir ne peut pas être négligée: c'est le lieu de réunion des *inflass* [représentant au conseil] qui décident des affaires de la communauté. Cette fonction, à notre sens, précède les autres fonctions et constitue une des premières étapes historiques de l'organisation sociale des tribus amazighes. L'agadir assure aussi, et c'est sa raison d'être, un rôle sécuritaire défensif, puisqu'il sert de refuge en cas de danger. Il est aussi un lieu social pour l'organisation d'un ensemble d'activités communautaires. Le rôle religieux est fortement présent: l'agadir renferme souvent la case d'institutions religieuses: la *medrssa* [l'école coranique], le *Ttaleb* [Imam], la *zaouïa* [Confrérie religieuse] et une mosquée. Il renferme aussi une *timzguida* [mosquée], un *akhrbich* [lieu d'ablution et qui sert parfois de cuisine] et une aire de prière. La fonction économique de l'agadir ne se limite pas uniquement au stockage des graines; ce bâtiment est parfois le lieu de transactions commerciales et foncières.
>
> **Translation:**
>
> Indeed, the political function of the agadir cannot be neglected: it is the meeting place of the *inflass* [representing the council] who decide on the affairs of the community. In our opinion this function precedes the other functions and constitutes one of the first historical stages of the social organization of the Amazigh tribes. Agadir also ensures a defensive security

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467 **MEUNIÉ, Jacques** (1949) Greniers collectifs. In: *Hespéris. Archives berbères et Bulletin de L'institut des Hautes Études Marocaines.* Volume XXXVI, pp. 97-37. Citation on pp. 99-100

468 **RAMOU HASSAN & ASMHRI EL MAHFOUD** (2009) Réflexions sur les origines et l'évolution des Igoudar. In: Igoudar un patrimoine culturel à valoriser. Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe, pp. 23-56. Citation on pp. 27-28

> role, since it serves as a refuge in case of danger. It is also a social place for the organization of a range of community activities. The religious role is strongly present: the agadir often contains a room for religious institutions: the *medrssa* [the Koranic school], the *Taleb* [Imam], the *zaouia* [religious brotherhood], and a mosque. It also contains a *timzguida* [mosque], an *akhrbich* (a place of ablution and sometimes used as a kitchen), and a prayer area. The economic function of an agadir is not limited solely to the storage of seeds; this building is sometimes the place of commercial and land transactions.

One observes that religion plays an important role in this community. On the other hand communities of this type were strongly independent, as occurred in Morocco, and could have formed their own way of thinking with respect to the religion and Sufi activities.
Seeing that the fortified granary was a central point for all activities of the community, here the question could arise if the granary was also used as a communal sleeping place for their inhabitants at times of social unrest.

Pierre Guichard also states that the inhabitants of *Wadi Riqut* adhered to an extremist mystical doctrine known as *Wahda mutlaqa.* In the origins of the Hudí revolt one simultaneously finds certain religious and violent features suggesting mysticism, perhaps a popular context. The prophets had announced the appearance of Ibn Hud who presented himself as a providential personage. He said: «I am – he says to his first companions – the Time Lord and I will be who will again pronounce juba on behalf of the Abbasids[469].»

15.1.5. Al-Khatib

The full name of Lisan ad-Din ibn al-Khatib (Born 16 November 1313 in Loja, died 1374 in Fes, Morocco) was Muhammad ibn Abd Allah ibn Said ibn Ali ibn Ahmad al-Salmani. He was a polymath, poet, writer, historian, philosopher, physician, and politician from the

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[469] **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los Musulmanes de Valencia. Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de València, p. 169.

Emirate of Granada. In the geographical index of his book Al-Khatib added Ricote[470].

Backed by the astrologer Ibn Hud could present himself as a providencial personage. Ibn Húd[471] descended from Al-mustain Ibn Húd, the fourth Sultán of Saragossa of the dynasty called the Beni Húd. According to Ibnu-l-Khattíb the cause of his revolt was as follows: at about the time when the dynasty of the Almohades began to show visible signs of decay there prevailed an impression among the people of Murcia and other cities in the east of Andalus that the power of their African rulers was shortly to be overthrown by a man named Mohammed Ibn Yúsuf, who would rise in arms against them, expel them from the country, and restore the Mohammedan empire to its pristine power and splendour.

Ibn Khaldun identifies several Sufí groups and among them the school of incarnation and oneness (*al-hulul wa-'l-wahda).* This idea was propagated by, among others, al-Harawi in his *Kitab ilal al-maqamat (The Flaws in the Stages).*

Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn `Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn `Ali ibn Ja`far ibn Mansur ibn Matta al-Ansari al-Harawi Abu Isma`il (396-1089) was born in Sha`ban of the year 396H in Herat (in present day Afghanistan) in the province of Khurasan. He was followed by Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn Sab'in, and their pupils as well as Ibn al-Farid and Najm

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470 **DAFTARY, Farhad** (1994) *The Assassin Legends: Myths of the Isama'ilis*. I.B. Tauris, p. 160

KNYSH, Alexander (1999) *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition.* Suny Press, p. 172

GERLI, Michael (2003) *Encyclopedia of Medieval Iberia.* New York: Routledge, pp. 416-417

471 **AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD MAQQARI, IBN AL-KHATIB** (1843) The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: Extracted from the Nafhu-t-tíb min ghosni-l-andalusi-r-rattíb wa táríkh lisánu-d-dín Ibni-l-khattíb, by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkarí. Translated by Pascual de Gayangos. In two volumes.

al-Din al-Isra'ili (d. 1208)[472]. Dominique Urvoy thinks that the theoreticians of Monism (*wahda,* o *wahda mutlaqa)* son al-Shudi (Seville), Ibn Ahla (Lorca), Ibn Mutarrif (the Blind of Murcia), Ibn Sab'in (Ricote Valley) and Sushtari, and Ibn 'Arabi (Murcia) who is more a theoretician of the *tagalli* (divine irradiation)[473]. According to Ibn Khaldun, among the Sufi Hermetists we find Abu 'Abdallah Al-Shudhi of Seville, Ibn Mutarrif the Blind of Murcia, Muhammad Ibn Aĥla of Lorca, and Al-Ĥajj Yasin Al-Maghribi[474].

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[472] **AHMAD, Zaid** (2001) *A Fourtheenth-century Historical Narrative of Sufism: The Case of Ibn Khaldun's Maqaddima li-Kitab al-Ibar.* In*: Jebat,* 28, pp. 123-133. Citation on pp. 130-131

[473] **URVOY, Dominique** (1972) *Une étude sociologique des mouvements religieux dans l'Espagne musulmane de la chute du califat au milieu du XIIIe siècle.* In: Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, tome 8, 1972. pp. 223-293. Citation on p. 282

[474] **IBN KHALDUN** (1991) *La Voie et la Loi ou Le Maître et le Juriste Shifa' al-sa'il li-tahdhib al-masa'il.Paris*, pp. 279-280

15.2. Various Sufi Hermetists

15.2.1. Abu ‘Abdallah Al-Shudhi of Seville

Abu ‘Abdallah Al-Shudhi (d. circa 600/1203) of Seville, now buried in Tlemcen, is there known as Sidi Al-Halwi. He was a *Mutakallim* follower of Al-Ash’ari. Al-Shudhi’s teachings were proclaimed heretical by a number of *‘ulama’* in Seville, forcing him to emigrate to Tlemcen, where he continued to preach[475]. The Shudhiyya order was established by Abu ‘Abdallah Al-Shudhi, an exiled *qadi* of Seville[476]. The first members of the Shudhiya movement were Ibn Al-Mar’a and Ibn Ahla of Lorca. When Ibn Khatib[477] deals in his work *Rawdat Al-ta’rif* the doctrine of Al-Shudhi, that one of the absolute unit, he remarks that the doctrine had many adherents in the Andalusian Levante. This event was especially the case in the valley of Ricote. Therefore, one cannot forget the familiar entailment of Ibn Sab’in with the population of Ricote[478].

15.2.2. Ibn Al-Mar’a Ibn Dahhaq in Murcia

Ibn Al-Mar’a Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214), who taught in Murcia, had seen and discussed in writing at least one of Ibn Masarra’s works (the *Kitab tawhid Al-muqinin*). This work is cited by Ibn Al-Mar’a in his *Sharh Al-Irshad.* The Murcian Ibn Al-‘Arabi knew some of Ibn Masarra’s works, because he refers to them four times. Ibn Sab’in of

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[475] **GARCÍA-ARENAL Mercedes** (2005) Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdis of the Muslim West, p. 145.

[476] **JOHNSON, N. Scott** (1995) Ibn Sab’in, Shushtari and the Doctrine of Absolute Unity. In: Sufi. A journal of Sufism, Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications. Issue 25, pp. 24-31.

[477] **LISAN AL-DIN IBN AL-KHATIB** (1970) *Rawdat Al-ta’rif bi’l-Hubb Al-Sharif,* ed. M. Kattani, 2 vols. Casablanca: Dar Al-Thaqafa*,* Vol. II, p. 604.

[478] **CARMONA GONZALEZ, Alfonso (**2007) De nuevo sobre Ibn Sab’in. In: 4º Congreso Internacional Valle de Ricote “Despeirta tus Sentidos”. Centro cultural de Ricote del 8 a 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Edición: Consorcio Turístico Mancomunidad “Valle de Ricote”, pp. 159-162. In p. 160.

the Ricote Valley in Murcia refers in two of his works to Ibn Masarra. Finally, Abu Al-Hasan Al-Shushtari, disciple of Ibn Sab'in, mentions Ibn Masarra in a poem that lists the spiritual forebears of his master[479]. Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214) was a contemporary of Ibn 'Arabi and adherent of the Shudhiyyah. He was exiled from Malaga to Murcia. He was apparently well versed in the Sufi tradition of Andalusis, mentioning in his works Ibn Masarra's *Kitab Al-tawhid Al-muqimim* and writing commentary on Ibn Al-'Arif famed *Mahasin Al-majali*. According to Massignon[480], Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq was Ibn Sab'in's instructor in Sufism and taught him the doctrine of *tahqiq Al-tawhid*. Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214) was a contemporary of Ibn 'Arabi and adherent of the Shudhiyyah. He was exiled from Malaga to Murcia. He was apparently well versed in the Sufi tradition of Andalusis, mentioning in his works Ibn Masarra's *Kitab Al-tawhid Al-muqimim* and writing commentary on Ibn Al-'Arif famed *Mahasin Al-majali*.

15.2.3. Ibn Ahla

Abû 'Abdullah Muhámmad Ibn 'Ali Ibn-Ahla (d. 645/1247), was a native of Murcia and famous *mutakallim*. Like the Sufi rebel Ibn Qasi, he started a semiclandestine movement at Lorca with a view to future political leadership. He was one of the first Shudhiya, together with Ibn Al-Mara'a. Ibn Al-Zubayr notes the fairness with which Ibn Ahla controlled Lorca, in the depths of the Grand Mosque, while remaining attached to the secret doctrine of Ibn Al-Mar'a, until his death[481].

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[479] **VAHID BROWN, J.** (2006) Muḥammad b. Masarra Al-Jabali and his Place in Medieval Islamicate Intellectual History: Towards a Reappraisal. Thesis presented to the Division of Philosophy, Religion and Psychology Reed College. (Portland, Oregon, USA), p. 106.

[480] **MASSIGNON, L.** (1982) The Passion of Al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam. 4 Vols. Translated from the French by H. Mason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Vol. II, p. 316.

[481] **MASSIGNON, Louis** (1975) La passion de Husayn Ibn Mansur Hallaj. Martyr mystique de l'Islam. Tome II. La survie de Hallaj. Editions Gallimard. Paris, pp. 327-328 and 332.

Consequently, Ibn Ahla[482] was a disciple of Ibn Al-Mar'a from whom he took his doctrine (*madhab*). A presumed teacher of Ibn Sab'in. Fierro Bello[483] indicates that Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Ahla was the follower of Ibn Sab'in, rebelling in Lorca in the years of the submission of the city by the Christians (1244-1245). He is credited with having made a large equity reign (taswiya). Although the establishment of justice on earth is associated with the figure of the Mahdi, it appeared that Ibn Ahla did not proclaim this in Lorca.

Ibn Ahla is usually counted by Muslim heresiographers among the "people of oneness" (*ahl Al-wahda*), although he may also have entertained the Isma'ili (*batini*) belief in the impending advent of the messianic world-restorer, which prompted him to make a bid for power in Lorca. As with Ibn Qasi, he was soon thrown out of Lorca and had to fly to Murcia. He died in the year 1245, two years after the capture of the city by the Christians[484].

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[482] **PUERTA VILCHEZ, José María** (2002) Ibn Ahlà, Abu 'Abd Allah. In: J. Lirola Delgado y J.M. Puerta Vilchez (eds). Enciclopedia de Al-Andalus. Diccionario de Autores y Obras Andalusies. Tomo I, A-Ibn B, Granada, 422-6, Nº 224.

[483] **FIERRO BELLO, Maribel** (1999) Doctrinas y movimientos de tipo mesiánico en Al-Andalus. In: Milenarismos y milenaristas en la Europa medieval: IX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 1998. Coord. Por José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, pp. 159-176. In p. 172.

KNYSH, Alexander D. (1968) Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image.., New York, p. 345.

[484] **IBAN SAB'IN.** *Budd Al-'arif,* pp. 20-21; **KATTOURA, George** (1977) Das Mystische und Philosphische System des Ibn Sab'in. Unpublished thesis, University of Tubingen, pp. 14-22; cf. **MASSIGNON, Louis** (1962) Ibn Sab'in et la 'conspiration anti-hallagienne' en Andalousie et en Orient du XIIIe siècle. In: Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal: Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, Vol. 2: pp. 661-683. In pp. 669-670; **FIERRO BELLO, Maribel** (2013) Heresy *and Political legitimacy in Al-Andalus* - Andrew P. Roach and James R. Simpson (eds.), Heresy and the making of European culture. Medieval and Modern Perspectives. Ashgate, p. 895. **KNYSH, Alexander** (1999) Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam. State University of New York, p. 345.

Ibn Ahla exerted a strong moral influence over his fellow citizens during the dysfunctional Hud's State between 1239 and 1247. People felt a great respect for his integrity[485] and justice to reign in the city. Ibn Ahla stated in his *Tadkira* a doctrine on the theological and social reform of the *Umma*. In other words, Murcian Sufism was totally interwoven in the political life of the town[486].

15.2.4. Ibn Mutarrif the Blind of Murcia

Ali b. Muhammad b. Mutarrif Al-Yudami Al-Darir (d. 663/1264) was a Murcian student and disciple of Ibn Ahla, who propagated his doctrine in the mosques of Lorca and Murcia. He took the doctrine (*madhhab*) of Ibn Ahla, in which he emphasized and made propaganda of Ibn Ahla's life. At the time of his death he directed most of his disciples and sat in the mosque of Lorca to read the holy book as interpreted (taríaq). He taught the doctrine in his house, much as did his master and his followers. Then he moved to Murcia, where he did the same until his death in 663 or 664. He was a propagator of evil in this doctrine, ignoring all sciences. Apparently he allowed his followers to drink wine and to take more than four wives[487]. In this context it is interesting to see what the doctoral thesis of Jahar is saying[488]:

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485 **CARMONA GONZALEZ, Alfonso (**2007) De nuevo sobre Ibn Sab'in. In: 4º Congreso Internacional Valle de Ricote "Despeirta tus Sentidos". Centro cultural de Ricote del 8 a 11 de Noviembre de 2007. Edición: Consorcio Turístico Mancomunidad "Valle de Ricote", pp. 159-162. In p. 159.

486 **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia. Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de València, pp. 170-171.

487 **AL-SAKHAWI.** *Al-Qawl Al-munbi,* fol. 93b; **LISAN AL-DIN IBN AL-KHATIB** (1970) *Rawdat Al-ta'rif bi'l-Hubb Al-Sharif,* ed. M. Kattani, 2 vols. Casablanca: Dar Al-Thaqafa, Vol. II, p. 604, note 1424; **KATTOURA.** *Die Mystische und Philosophische System,* pp. 18-19; **MASSIGNON**. "Ibn Sab'in" p. 670. Cited by: **KNYSH, Alexander** (1999) Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam. State University of New York, p. 353. See also: **MARIN, M.** (2000) Mujeres en Al-Andalus, Madrid. *(Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de Al-Andalus, XI),* p. 407.

488 **JAHAR, Asep Saepudin** (1999) Abu Ishaq Al-Shatibi's reformulation of the concept of Bida'a: a study of his Al-i'tisam. A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of

Ibn Sab'in's teachings, for example, claimed that *salat or saum* (fasting in Ramadan) for those who had reached the level of real *'ulama* (sing. *alim)* was unnecessary. Moreover, his direct challenge to Malikite jurists contained an indictment against the readiness of jurists to permit men to have more than four wives, which was forbidden by the *mashhur Al-fuqaha',* and to allow the consumption of alcoholic beverages.
For Ibn Sab'in, the blend of *fiqh,* theology *(kalam),* Sufism and philosophy is important. *Fiqh* is the road to the *Shari'a, Ash'ariyya* the road to theology and Sufism the road to God's *haqiqa.* For Ibn Sab'in, *fiqh* is not the only path to that reality (*haqiqa*), for it is based on reason alone, particularly *qiyas* (*ratio* legis), and hides, therefore, God's light from His servantes. By his logic, therefore, it is jurists who have gone astray[489].

As we know, the Sufi Ibn Sab'in (1217-1270) was from the Ricote Valley. On the other hand Ibn Hud rebelled against the Almohad governor of Murcia and took as his headquarter a place called Assojairat or Assajur (peñascales) near Ricote, belonging to the district of Murcia, and fortified himself in a castle called Alarbona.

15.3. Sufism in Marroc

It is quite interesting to see how Ibn Askar or Abu Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ali ibn Omar ibn Husain ibn Misbah ibn Askar (1529–1579) describes Sufism in Morocco in the 16th century[490]:

Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts. Institute of Islamic Studies. McGill University Montreal, Canada, p. 20.

489 **SHARIF, Muhammad Yasir** (1990) Falsafat Al-Tasawwuf Al-Sab'ini. Damascus: Manshurat Wizarat Al-Thaqafa, pp. 114-115 and 141-144.

490 Ibn 'Askar, Dawhat al-nashir li-mahasin man kana bi-l-Maghrib min masha'ikh al-qarn al-'ashir, ed. M. Hajji, Rabat, 1977, 78 (French trans, by A. Graulle, *Archives Marocaines*, 19 (1913), 137. Cited by **RODRÍGUEZ-MAÑAS, Francisco** (2000) *Charity and Deceit: The Practice of the it'am al-ta'am in Moroccan Sufism*. In: *Studia Islamica,* nº 91, pp. 59-90. Citation on p. 59

> In Morocco, Sufi lodges (*zawiyas*) provided numerous services for neighbouring communities. In times of political turmoil, for instance, they served as communal granaries; peasants often left their crops in nearby lodges for safekeeping, to prevent their seizure by marauding nomads or looters. They also offered sanctuary (*hurma*) to outlaws, mostly petty criminals, but often also sturdy opponents of the ruling dynasty, such as outspoken religious reformers or ousted officials likely to stir up trouble. The authorities, doubtless unwittingly, helped to turn Sufi lodges into hotbeds of political agitation. By granting some of them immunity status and fiscal exemptions, initiatives that could be misconstrued as a relinquishment of state jurisdiction over the latter, they encouraged seditious elements of every hue to seek refuge in *zawiyas* when official harassment became unbearable, aware that government troops could not trespass on certain lodges' boundaries.

In fact, Sufi orders not only continued to exist, but also maintained a presence in the political sphere, often challenging the domestic political leadership.

16. THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF DARRAX

16.1. The Banu Darray

Once established the area Aldarache in the literature, now another problem to be resolved is the possible origin of the name of Darrax, a place that in 1544 was called Aldarache[491]. For that we have to consult another time the research of López Moreno.

According to the study of López Moreno[492] the name of Darrax refers to a fraction of the Sinhaja (Sinhāŷa) Berber tribe, the Banu Darrāŷ (pronounciation / Darraj /), appearing as such in the *Ŷamharat* of Ibn Hazm[493] (XI century). As an example of their settlement in Al-Andalus, Ahmad Al-Rāzi[494] (X century) refers to the existence of a «causeway of the Banu Darrāŷ» in the present province of Castellon. The hispanoislamic poet Ibn Darrāŷ Al-Qastalli[495] *(Cazalilla,* 958 – Denia, 1030*)* belonged to it. He was in the service of *Al-Mansur.*

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[491] **AYALA MARTÍNEZ, Carlos de** (1995). Libro de Privilegios de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y León (s.s. XI-XV), Madrid, pp. 498-499.

[492] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2005) Poblamiento beréber en la zona norte del Valle de Ricote: Las alquerías andalusíes de Abarán y Darrax. In: Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos". Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 355-389. Cites on pp. 374-376.

[493] **IBN HAZM** (1948). *Yamharat ansab al-'Arab*. Ed. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Le Caire, pp. 466-467.

[494] **RAZI, AHMAD, B. Muhammad** Al (1953). Description de l'Espagne D'Ahmad Al-Razi. In: Al-Andalus: revista de las escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada. Trad. E. Lévi Provenál, 18 (1), pp. 51-108. Nº 22 on p. 72.

[495] **BLACHÈRE, Regis** (1933). La vie et l'oeuvre du poète épistolier andalou Ibn Darray al-Kastalli. In: Revista *Hespéris,* Rabat, vol. XVI, pp. 99-121.
MAHMUD ALI MAKKI (1961). *Diwan ibn Darray al-Qastalli,* edición crítica del texto con introducción, notas, apéndices e índices, por el doctor Mahmud 'Ali Makki, IVC +632 páginas, ediciones de "al-Maktah al-Islami" (Editorial Islámica), Damasco.

By different ways one can appreciate in its phonetic evolution that the Ŷin was transcribed into the final position by the "ch". To it one added the support vowel "e" in the document of 1244, evolving into the other words to "x" . In the Morisco period the Arabic definite article disappeared. It is clear that the script of "Aldarache" lacks an "r". Furthermore, that the “n” of Andarraix is equivalent to the "l"of the definite article and the "i"could be a clerical error or defect of copyists (Al-Darrāŷ > Aldar(r)ache > Aldarrax > Darrax).

When finishing this book, López Morena informed me that that the name Darrāŷ also appears near to Orihuela[496]. Pocklington observes the following[497]:

> Al-Šarīf al-Garnāṭī: “*Al-Darrāŷ* es un lugar” (1997, II, 830). Este topónimo, que se encontraría cerca de Orihuela, no parece haberse conservado después de la conquista castellano-aragonesa. En el árabe clásico la voz *darrāŷ* significa ‘erizo’ y *durrāŷ* ‘francolín’ (Lane 1863-93, III, 869), no obstante, según Ibn Hišām al-Lajmī (1990, II, 343, nº 631), en al-Andalus el nombre del francolín se pronunciaba *darrāŷ*. Por otra parte, indica Dozy (1968, I, 431b) que en el Magreb el término *darrāŷ* significaba también ‘cardador de lanas’ o ‘batanero, obrero que apelmazaba las telas de lana para darles una textura más densa y suave’. Se trataría, pues, de una alquería perteneciente a un hombre de este oficio, o con el apodo ‘El Francolín’.
>
> Loose translation:
>
> Pocklington observes the following: Al-Šarīf al-Garnāṭī: "Al-Darrāŷ is a place" (1997, II, 830). This place name, which would be near Orihuela, does not seem to have been preserved after the Castilian-Aragonese conquest. In classical Arabic the word darrāŷ means 'hedgehog' and durrāŷ 'francolin'

MAHMUD ALI MAKKI (1963-1964). La España cristiana en el diwan de Ibn Darray. In: utlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona > 1964: Vol.: 30, pp. 1-42.

[496] **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (2016). Lexemas toponímicos andalusíes I. In: Alhadra, Revista de la Cultura Andalusí, 2, pp. 233-320. Citation on p. 247 (Al-Darray, 13th century, near to Orihuela).

[497] **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (2016). La descripción de la vega de Murcia en la *Qasida maqsura* de Hazim al-Qartayanni. In: Estudios sobre patrimonio, cultura y ciencias medievales, 18, pp. 1021-1050, citation on p. 1035

(Lane 1863-93, III, 869), however, according to Ibn Hišām al-Lajmī (1990, II, 343, no. 631), in al- Andalus the name of the francolin was pronounced darrāŷ. On the other hand, says Dozy (1968, I, 431b) that in the Maghreb the term darrāŷ also meant 'wool carder' or 'fuller, worker who caked woolen fabrics to give them a denser and softer texture'. It would be, therefore, a farmhouse belonging to a man of this trade, or with the nickname 'The Francolin'.

One should highlight the Arabic form of the name of this tribe (of the words dār raŷ = "pleasure house"). It is possible that certain Arab names are among the Berbers as indicated by Pierre Guichard when referring to Darrāŷ. As already indicated, the Berber settlement in this farmstead is confirmed by the characteristics given in the fortified granuary, systematically excavated on the hill of the "La Cobertera".

That is what we could summarize from the articles of López Moreno up to now[498].

[498] **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2010) *La alquería andalusí de al-Darrax: un despoblado entre Abarán y Blanca (Valle de Ricote)*. In: *Actas I Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán. Abarán, 30 abril / 7 mayo, 2010*, Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila», Murcia, 2010. Abarán, pp. 25-46. Citation on pp. 26-27
LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2014) *Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote)*. In: Actas II Jornadas de Investigación y Divulgación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote, 20/27 abril, 2012. Asociación Cultural «La Carrahila» Abarán, pp. 55-100. Citation on pp. 65-66 and 94
LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2015) *Las huertas de la Encomienda de Ricote en los periodos mudéjar y morisco (siglos XIII-XVII): pervicencia de espacios irrigados de origen beréber.* In: II Congreso Internacional. Descendientes de andalusíes moriscos en el Mediterráneo occidental. Ojós/Murcia/España, 23-25 abril 2015. Ayuntamiento de Ojós (Murcia), pp. 333-252. Citation on pp. 339-340

16.2. More about the name Darrax

Allan J. Fromherz left us an important explanation of terminology that has to be taken into account:

> The common way of introducing tribes in Berber was *Aît.* In Arabic the word was *Banû.* Generally speaking tribes carrying the label *Aît* were Berber, and those with that of *Banû* were Arab. However, as tribal factions exemplified, many, if not most, tribal factions were simultaneously labelled Banû and Aît. Just as Ibn Tûmart had both the genealogy of a Berber chief and an Arab *sharif* descended from Fatima, so too did many tribes have dual Berber and Arab identities[499].

16.2.1. Writing of Ibn-Darrag

One can add to these explanations the way of writing of the poet Ibn-Darrāğ Al-Qasṭallī. The following words were found:

Ibn-Darrāğ Al-Qasṭallī[500]
Ibn Darray
Ibn Darrādj Al-Ḳasṭallī
Ibn Darrāg
Ibn Darrāj
Ibn Darrāŷ
Ibn Darrach[501]

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[499] **FROMHERZ, Allen J.** (2012). The rise of the Almohads: The Tribal Roots of Monotheism. I.B. Tauris. London, New York, p. 101.

[500] **BLACHÈRE, Regis** (1933). La vie et l'oeuvre du poète épistolier andalou Ibn Darray al-Kastalli. In: Revista *Hespéris,* Rabat, vol. XVI, pp. 99-121.

[501] **CHICA GARRIDO, Margarita la** (1973). Almanzor y los poems de Ibn Darray al-Qastali. Tesis doctoral. In: Anales de la Universidad de Valencia, Nº. 134, pp. 1-29. Citation on p. 18.

MARSICAO, Alberto (2003). Poesía arábico-andaluz. In: Cuadernos de Literatura em Traduçao, Nº. 5, pp. 157-158.

LA AZUCENA
Las manos de la primavera han amurallado,
encima de los tallos, los castillos de la azucena,
castillos com almenas de plata y donde los
defensores, agrupados em torno del príncipe, tienen
espadas de oro.

Translation:

THE LILY
The hands of spring have enclosed,
above the stems, the castles of the lily,
castles with battlements of silver and where the
defenders, grouped around the prince, have
swords of gold.

Ibn Darrach al-Qastalli

Levy-Provençal thinks that the origin of the name *Darache* comes from the form Darray, Muslims of a Berber tribe rare in the Peninsula and that seems to correspond to the family Banu Darray, pertaining to the great Berber confederacy of Sinhaya[502].

We must also take into account that Ibn-Darrag Al-Qastalli was in the service of Al-Mansur (939-1002) and son Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar between 992 and 1008. After the death of Abd al-Malik al-Muzaffar he went to different places, but from 1028 until his death in 1030 he was in the service of the grandson of Al-Mansur called_'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'Amir, a Taifa king of Valencia between 1021 and 1061.

On the other hand I found that Eduardo Saavedra translated Banu Darray por *Fijos de Darache* en el territorio de Castellón[503]:

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[502] **ARASA GIL, Ferran** (1979). Arqueología del terme municipal de Castelló de la plana. In: Cuardernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de Castellón, 6, pp. 121-179. Citation on p. 159.
[503] **SAAVEDRA, Eduardo** (1881) *La Geografía de España del Edrisi.* Madrid, p. 39

Peñiscola es el único punto identificado hasta ahora en esta región; pero no hay dificultad en ver que la aldea de *Yana* (.....), es la Jana, en el camino romano de Valencia á Tarragona, designado por Rasis como camino de los *Fijos de Darache,* traduciendo imperfectamente el nombre de Vinaragel, partida del término de Burriana.

Translation:

Peñiscola is the only point identified so far in this region, but there is no difficulty in seeing that the village of *Yana* (......) is the Jana on the Roman road from Valencia to Tarragona, designated by Rasis as the path of the *Fijos de Darache*, (sons of Darache) imperfectly translating the name of Vinaragel, imparted from the term Burriana.

16.2.2. Dolors Bramon Planas

In her doctoral dissertation written in Catalan Dolors Bramon Planas[504] has also studied the work of Razi (el moro Rasi) and with regards to §22 of al-Razi confesses that the passage of *Banu Darrag* is difficult to explain. In her notes[505], translated into English below, are a lot of

[504] **BRAMON PLANAS, Dolors** (1998) *Nous textos d'historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya medieval (Continuació de l'obra de J.Mª. Millàs I Vallicrosa).* Tesi doctoral. Universidad de Barcelona, p. 120 and note 370

[505] LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Razi, § 22, notes that the passage is difficult. It explains the two routes from Vinaroz to Tortosa: the one that runs along the coast and Amposta, and the one that goes west, passing through Ulldecona near Masdenverge (which considers a possible deformation of the name of the Ban Darrag with whom he identifies the "Darache / Rachen" fixed name, which, according to IBN HAZM, Gamhara 466-467 was a Sinhaga Berber clan). He adds that the Portuguese form "Caminho de Matramaca" could also be interpreted by "path of mortar", an expression that would refer to a Roman road. SAAVEDRA, La Geografia, 103, believes that this is the Roman road that went from Valencia to Tarragona passing through La Jana (see § 161) and that the expression "sons of Darache" originated from "improperly translating the name of Vinaragel" (sic, by Vinarragell, coming from the term of Burriana). I think that it is indeed the path of the interior that, by La Jana and from Xert, the first town of the Maestrazgo, coming from Valencia, according to CAVANILLES, (Onomasticon on, sv "Maestrat") is *bifurcava,* or cape to Morella, to the east, or cape Tortosa to the north. On the other hand it should be noted that P. GUICHARD (Les musulmans de Valence et la Reconquête (XI-XIII siècles), Institut Français de Damas, Damas 1991, 2 vols. I, 195), identifies the

explanations with various possibilities and other meanings. For example the name of Bany Darrag could correspond to the Banu Waragul. It is clear that these data can turn the current thinking into another hypothesis.

16.2.3. Ibn Andaras

Ibn Andarás was a Muslim scholar who stayed in Murcia for some time. His name was Abu ‘l-Qasim Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Umai, and he was known as Ibn Andaras[506]. He was a faqih and a hakim (physician) born in Murcia (min ahl Mursiya) who emigrated to Bidjaya (in North Africa) between 650-1252/3 and 660/1261-2 and went to the court in Tunis on invitation of the Hafsid caliph al-Mustansir (1249-1277), where he died in 674/1275-6.

We will observe here that the name Andaras is similar to Andarraix, a previous name of Darrax of 1304 used by James II of Aragon[507] when he occupied this territory for eight years. However, as we will observe, the name Aldarache was older, thus we have to abstain from any possible hypothesis on this name. Besides, there is also a problem with the date.

"Darache / Rachen landlords" with the Benirrage that appears in the Burriana Repartiment (year 1233) and with the later Vinarragell and M. BARCELÓ, "Assaig d'identificació del rastre dels assentaments de la immigració Berber més primerenca" in the course of waters. Treballs sobre els pagesos de Yabisa [Works on the peasants of Yabisa] (290-633 H / 902-1235 dC), Quaderns d'Arqueologia Pitiusa, 3, Ibiza 1997, 13-14, considers that this name corresponds to the Berbers Banü Waragul, who "Ibn Haldün places forming part of the Sanhagga confederation."

[506] **KONINGSVELD, Pieter Sjoerd van** (1992) Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts *from Christian Spain: A Comparative Intercultural Approach.* In: *Israel Oriental Studies, XII.* New York, pp. 75-112. Appendix I, no. 57

[507] **GIMÉNEZ SOLER, Andrés** (1905-1907) *Caballeros españoles en África y africanos en España*, Revue Hispanique, vols. 12 i 16, p. 356

16.2.4. Andarax

Andarax refers to a river and valley by the same name that in its course receives the name the river Almería. It is an Arabic toponym that comes from the Arabic “andar”, “era”, as the first part of this Arabism, plus the morpheme romance -as, as a plural form. Al-Himyari records the *Wadi Andaras* on the occasion of a few verses that Abu l-Hayyay b. 'Ataba al-Isbili, doctor and poet from the thirteenth century, devotes to its meandering flow[508].

The Andarax - in its lower course Almería River or River Almería - is a river in the province of Almería, Andalusia, Spain. It arises in the easternmost part of the Sierra Nevada in the Cerro del Almirez. There is a village called Laujar de Andarax and in the Repartition book (Libro del Repartimiento): *Andaralauxa* means andar-al-lawsa “era of the slab” (era de la losa)[509].

Ibn Sa’id through his *Mugrib* says about Andarax[510]:

> **[The city of Andarax]**
> [235]" In the Mushib it is said: [Andarax] is a portion of paradise with a smiling mouth and adorned cheeks. Ibn Sa'id says: I walked with my father and we both admired this excellent view.

For more information about the Andarrax toponym and the corresponding bibliography[511] I have to refer to the excellent article of M. Mohamed Méouak**.**

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508 **JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA** (2010) *Rio Andarax. Agencia Andaluza del Agua.* Consejería de Medio Ambiente. Junta de Andalucia, p. 71

509 **CHAVARRÍA VARGAS, J.A.** (1997) *Contribution al estudio de la toponominia latino-mozárabe de la Axarquía de Málaga*, pp. 145-147

510 **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio & ÁLVAREZ DE MORALES, Camilo** (1992) *Repertorio de noticias geográficas sobre Almería islámica*. In: *Homenaje a la Profesora Elena Pezzi,* Grenade, pp. 77-86. Citation on p. 84

16.2.5. Al-darrag

The Arabist Alfonso Carmona González thinks[512] that the most likely etymon of aldarache is *al-darrag*, "the carder". This is also an interesting hypothesis, because the carder arranged the wool of the sheep for spinning. In other words Darrax could have been a good place for sheep. But did the Berbers had experience with sheep in the High Atlas? This can be confirmed:

> Members of the tribe would be expected to help their neighbour; they may have then divided food in the community." This shared communal labour scheme is preserved in many parts of the Atlas and Anti-Atlas." Ibn Tümart's community of Igïlïz, or Iglï n Wargan, probably held a market every week to exchange goods and news, settle disputes, negotiate marriage and generally maintain contact with the larger tribal confederation, both those in and outside an immediate kín group. Green olive oil, the highly prized oil of the Argan tree with its smoky taste, oranges, Citrus fruits, Vegetables, grains, sheep and goats are still the rich products of the region, supplied by the waters of the Wadï Süs. There was frequently a set day of the week for market, often Friday to correspond with the main Friday sermon; some towns had markets two or more times a week and larger cities were often able to have markets open every day[513].

So already at the time of Ibn Tumart (1078-1130), the spiritual leader of the Almohad movement, the Berber communities were known for their wool work, which was one of the main activities for Berber women at home. It started with raising sheep and thereafter grooming them, which produced wool for carding, knitting, dyeing, and the

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[511] **M. MOHAMED MÉOUAK** (1995) *Toponymie, peuplement et division du territoire dans la province d'Almería à l'époque médiévale: l'apport des textes arabes*. In. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez,* tome 31-1. Antiquité – Moyen-Age, pp. 173-222. Citations on pp. 200 and 201

[512] **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2005) *El valle de Ricote en época Andalusí*. In: *Tercer Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote "Despierte tus Sentidos"*. Ojós, 25 y 26 de Noviembre de 2005. Edición Consorcio Turístico "Mancomunidad Valle de Ricote", pp. 129-142. Citation on p. 139

[513] **FROMHERZ, Allen J.** (2012). The Almohads: The Rise of an Islamic Empire. I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd. London/New York, p. 21.

results are beautiful blankets, rugs, and warm sweaters that helped them survive the harsh winter in the Atlas Mountains. A tourist guide says it in the following way[514]:

> After the men have sheared the sheep in the spring, the women wash the wool and carefully pick over it. It is then carded, a process by which the strands are untangled by brushing with comb-like implements. Next, the wool is spun into yarn with a small spindle. Either in its natural colour or after it has been dyed, the wool is then ready.

16.3. The Sanhaja Berber tribe

It could be that the Sanhaja Berbers was situated in Darrax. But did it have a connection with the Masmuda Berbers tribe who came from the High Atlas and build a granary in Darrax? We know that as from the 10th century the Berber tribes of the Sanhaja invaded the lands of the Masmuda, but was that enough to eliminate the original Masmuda inhabitants and their customs? This seems to be impossible in those years since today the Masmuda Berber tribe is one of the largest in the Maghreb.

As we observe from the documents the Zirids (Sp. Zīríes) were Sanhaja Berbers[515] originating from the area of modern Algeria. Part of the dynasty fled to al-Andalus and in 1013 founded the Taifa of Granada on the ruins of the Caliphate of Cordoba.

Sanhaya ziríes, from Ifriqilla, passed al-Andalus at the beginning of the 11th century, settling in the heart of Libira (Granada). Sanhaya

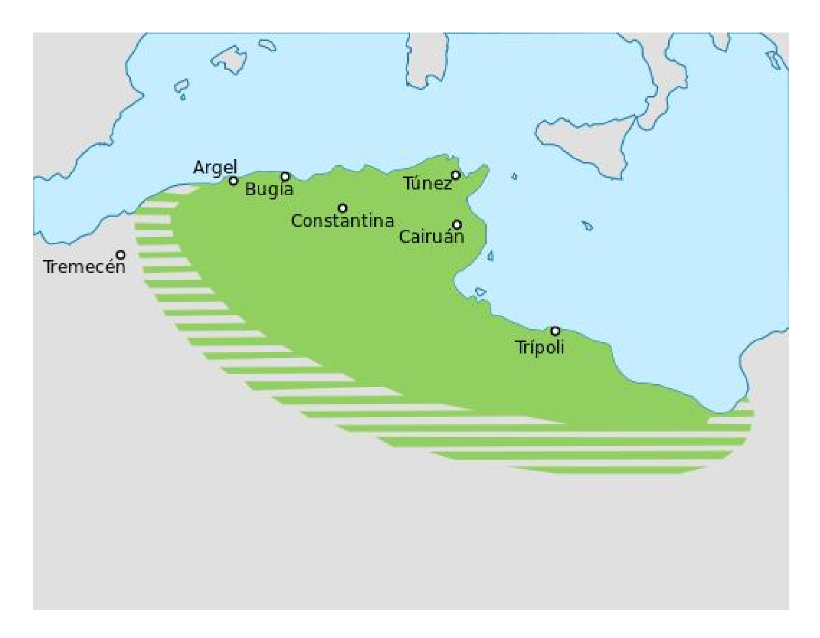
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[514] **HACHETTE TOURISME** (2017) *Eyewitness travel. Morocco. Penguin Random House*. London, p. 336

[515] **ARIZA ARMADA, Almudena** (2010) Estudio sobre las monedas de los Hammudíes de Al-Andalus (Siglo X-XI). Tesis doctoral. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Facultad de Filología, Departamento Estudios Árabes e Islámicos. Vol. I: Estudio. Madrid, p. 112

also established in the south were the Banu Laqit, Banu I-Galiz, Banu Darray and Banu Abd al-Wahhab, the latter rich and numerous, residencies like the Banu Tahir b. Mana in Osuna.

The Zirids were a Berber dynasty originally from Cabilia, a mountainous region of Algeria, which from the 10th century ruled the region of Ifriquiya, first as vassals of the Fatimids and from 1048 and until 1163 as independent emirs[516].



Map of the territories dominated by the Zirí dynasty towards the year 1000. (CC BY-SA 4.0 – Omar Toons).

A branch of the Zirids headed by Zawi ben Ziri moved to al-Andalus to serve as mercenaries under Almanzor, and in 1013 founded the Taifa of Grenada, an independent Muslim kingdom that arose in al-

[516] http://elcanario.net/Benchomo/mazigioscanariosepgr2.htm
(Eduardo Pedro García Rodríguez, 2012: Quiénes somos los Mazigios canarios?)

Andalus due to the disintegration of the Caliphate of Cordoba. In 1057 the Taifa of Malaga were annexed when conquering it for the kings of the Hammudí dynasty that governed it from 1026. However, in 1073 the Taifa of Malaga would become independent again by the Zirid Tamim, the brother of the Grenadian king Abd'Allah Ben Buluggin thus until the fall of these kingdoms in the hands of the Almoravids in 1090 two Taifas kingdoms coexisted in Al-Andalus, governed by members of the Zirid dynasty.

The term Zirid also applies to art and civil constructions made during this dynasty in the areas of al-Andalus that dominated (Granada and Malaga). Among them are the Cadima Alcazaba in the Albayzín, part of the old wall of Granada and the Alcazaba in Malaga.

16.4. Zirid kings in Grenada.

Its founder was Ziri Manad and his main descendant Zawi ben Ziri (as-Sinhayi), mercenary general of the caliph of Cordova Hisham II, to the orders of his *hayib* Almanzor. On the death of Almanzor in Medinaceli on 12 August 1002 (25 Ramadan of 392) a civil war broke out in Al Andalus. Zawi took part in this war as military head of one of the sides. In 1011 he destroyed Azahara Medina and in March 1013 he took Córdoba and founded the Kingdom of Granada, of which he was the first emir (king). He moved its capital from Elvira Medina to the present city of Granada. He died poisoned in Algiers in 1019 by order of its king the Zirid Mahdia.

As we can observe from this information, if the Zirds (Sanhaja berbers) settled in the territory of Blanca (Negra in 1281 to 1368) to give the name of Darrach (Aldarache, Andarraix, Darrax) to one of its hamlets, then this can only have taken place after 1013.

16.4.1. Cehegin

On the other hand we observed in a study[517] that some families of the Sinhaja (Sinhāŷa) Berber tribe had established themselves in Cehegín.

> The earliest known news comes from the geographer al-Bakrī, who composed his major work on the Roads and the Kingdoms in 1068, and refers to the place as al-Sinhāŷīn, al-Sihāŷin, or al-Sinhāŷiyyun, according to the translations offered by Vallvé and Vidal Beltrán. The version of the latter says that "the magnetite that attracts the iron is in a place called Al-Sinhāŷiyyun in the province of Murcia" (VIDAL, 1982). The granadino. Ibn Galib (12th century) also collects the news: "the stone magnet that attracts iron, is found in al-Sinhāŷin"
> (Molina et al., 1991). The same as al-Dimasqi (m. 1327): "In the Cora of Tudmir is the district of the Sinhāyiyin (Cehegin). In this district there is excellent magnetite: a stone of a dirham weight attracts an iron weighing two dirhams, and transports it by raising it to a height of one man or more. "Finally, in the Dikr bilād al-Andalus we find another brief reference of the same content "in a place known by Cehegin, from the Cora of Murcia, there is magnatis calamita". From the comparison of all the texts it is deduced that the toponym alludes to a place or nucleus of population where Berbers of Sinhāŷa origin lived or had lived that by extension gave name to a more extensive territory where there was a deposit of stone magnet or magnetite. By the writing date of *Kitab al-masālik* of al-Bakri it can be assured that the present Cehegin existed as a settlement at least from the first half of the eleventh century. The settlement had to begin with a small nucleus constituted by several families at a time where the old Episcopal city of Begastri was in decay or almost depopulated. The establishment must be based on socio-economic and cultural motives: the immigrant population is attracted by the strong agricultural possibilities of the ceheginero territory next to the river Argos with a significant extension of mountainous areas that allows the development of a cattle ranch in addition to possible exploitation of mining of the deposit of magnetite located in a nearby *cabezo*, although until now we do not have a reliable verification because the texts are limited to indicating the existence of the mineral, not its extraction.

[517] **POZO MARTÍNEZ, Indalecio & ROBLES FERNÁNDEZ, Alfonso** (2008) El Noroeste de Murcia. De *Tudmir* a la frontera del reino. In: *REGNUM MURCIAE. Génesis y configuración del Reino de Murcia.* Editorial: Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia, pp. 275-294

17. THE POSSIBLE BIRTHPLACE OF IBN SAB'IN

17.1. Al-Dara

The next problem to be resolved is the possible origin of the birth place of Ibn Sab'in. The fact that the biographers of Ibn Sab'in indicate the Ricote Valley as the birthplace of Ibn Sab'in and not Ricote might imply the possibility that this holy person was born in another village or farmstead. A holy farmstead in those times was Al-Darrax as we have seen in previous pages.

However, somebody wrote about this possibility? Moreover, thinking in this way one comes after research to an unpublished article of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno[518], written in the year 2004. It begins to state that the name Esteban Lator[519] gives to the sufi Ibn Sab'in, is as follows:

Muhyi Al-din Abu Muhammad Abd Al-Haqq b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Nasr b. Muhammad Al-Mursi Al-Riquti Al-Isbili Al-Sufi Qutb Al-din b. Al-Dara b. Sab'in.

The similarity between "Al-Dara" and "Al-Darache" as appearing in 1244 and referring to the Islamic farmstead Andarraix (Darrax)[520], left no doubt. The geographical specificity of Murcia and Ricote proves it. The more, when in times of political stability, the land of Darrax was

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518 **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2004) Ibn Al-Dara Ibn Sab'in. Máxima expresión de la Cultura Valricotí. (Unpublished).

519 **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: Al-Andalus, 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 373.

520 **LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín** (2003) "El granero fortificado islámico de Andarraix: un posible reclamo turístico y cultural para el Valle de Ricote", *II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote. Blanca, 14, 15 y16 Nov. 2003*, Abarán (Murcia), pp. 63-74

an Islamic *qarya* of the *hisn* of Ricote. In its turn the hisn of Ricote was the *madina* district of Murcia, capital of the *Kura of Tudmir*.

Thanks to Esteban Lator we know the meaning that the Arab author Al-Maqqari (1578-1632) gave to the word "dara", when referring to the name of our philosopher Ibn Sab'in. It was none other than the circle equating "dara" to "Sab'in" (= 70) in the *rumi* notation[521]. This same method, circle equal to seventy, was also used by Georges S. Colin[522] when he spoke of 27 numerical absolute value symbols called *rumies.* On the other hand, José A. Sánchez Pérez picked up 50 *rumi* figures in a manuscript of El Escorial[523].

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[521] Using these figures in the Peninsula is documented from the late twelfth century. About the origin, identification and other information about these figures please refer to:

GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, A. (1930) *Los mozárabes de Toledo de los siglos XII y XIII*, vol. IV, Madrid, especially p. 48.

LABARTA, A. and BARCELÓ, C. (1988) *Números y cifras en los documentos arábigohispanos*, Córdoba, Universidad.

MARTÍNEZ RUIZ, J. (1991) Catorce recibos bilingües (árabe-español) de impuesto de farda en el Archivo de la Alhambra (1511-1564) In. *Homenaje al Prof. Jacinto Bosch Vilá*, Granada, Universidad, vol. I, pp. 599-618.

SERGHINI MOHAMED (1985) L'expose critique de la pensée Musulmane a travers Ibn Sab'in. These presentée pour l'obtention du doctorat D'Etat es-Lettres. Université de Paris IV. Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines. Sorbonne. 3 Volumes. In: Vol. I, p. 16.

[522] **COLIN, G. S.** (1933) De l'origine grecque des 'chiffres de Fès' et de nos 'chiffres arabes'. In. *Journal Asiatique* 222, pp. 193-215.

[523] **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: Al-Andalus, 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 373.

See also the article of **SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, José A.** (1935) Sobre las cifras rumīes. In: *Al-Andalus*, III, pp. 97-125, where, apart from appreciating the circle equivalence = seventy, he informed us, citing Colin, hat these particular signs, which have absolute value, are of Greek descent. These symbols later moved to Egypt, then to Muslim Spain, and to Morocco. Furthermore, from Muslim Spain he states that "from the late twelfth century one could find the symbols in the Mozarabic documents (from Toledo) published by González Palencia. Another indication is the script that Ibn Sab'in († 1269) gave to his name.

As observed by Al-Maqqari, the nickname "Ibn Sab'in" equals "Ibn Al-Dara" and the latter would mean "Son of The Circle." With that comes to mind the circle that traces the top of the Cerro de la Cobertera on the horizon.

The top could be much more highlighted if the remaining walls of the fortified granary were still intact. However, these walls gradually crumble to the point when the shape of their ruins reminded of a crown from a passerby's view which is why the name “La Corona” was given to this plot of land of Abarán.

The name "Al-Dara" would also be given to the Islamic farmhouse nearby the rounded shape of the top of the Cerro de la Cobertera. There people established their small fortification. In later years the names "Andarraix", "Aldarrax" and "Darrax" were added to “Al-Darache”.

Summing up the following points one can deduce that the great Murcian Muslim scholar came from Islamic Darrax:

- The resemblance of the forms "Al-Darache" and "Al-Dara";
- A comparison of the meaning "Circle" with the roundness of the top of Cobertera;
- Equivalence of the nickname "Ibn Al-Dara" / "Ibn Sab'in";
- Birthplace in the Valley of Ricote.

Up to here, the most important points of the hypothesis of Jesús Joaquín López Moreno[524] are revealed.

AHMED MOHAMMED AL-MAQQARI (1855) *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne* (1855-1861, 2 vols. In Arabic), Vol. I. p. 591, 1. 2. (Ibidem, 97-99)

[524] About the rumi numbers, in addition to the cited works please see:

LEVI DELIA VIDA, G. (1934) Appunti e quesiti di storia letteraria araba. In: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 14, pp. 281-283.

17.2. Rumi numbers

For writing his name Ibn Sab'in used the number "Ibn 0", and this is where his nickname of Ibn Dara[525] comes from. According to the rumi numbers "0" means seventy. Colin states[526]:

> It is even the use of Greek numeral in Arabic Spain of the thirteenth century that helps us understand the detail of the biography of the curious Hispanic Theosophist Ibn Sab'in (d. 1269). The name Ibn Sab'in literally means "son of the Seventy". In his *Nafh at Tib*, Al-Makkari has preserved the following remark: "Ibn Sab'in wrote his name as Ibn O, tracing the circle (dara) that looks like a zero. In one of the numerical methods of the Magribins it is 70. That is why he became famous by the name of *Ibn Dara* "the son of the circle". However, the small circle in question is the omicron in the series of Greek numeral as the one in the "numerals of Fez ", which corresponds to 70.

On the other hand, Colins finishes his article stating:

> 1.That the twenty-seven signs that constitute the "numerals of Fes" are the current representatives of the Greek alphabetic-numerical series, dating back over twenty-five centuries;
> 2.Arabs had to borrow these figures from the Hellenistic civilization in Egypt (or Syria), and introduced them to Muslim Spain, from where they went to Morocco.

REY, Abel (1935) À propos de l'oigine grecque des «chiffres de Fès» et de nos «chiffres arabes». In: Revue des Études Grecques, tome 48, fascile 228, Octubre-décembre, pp. 525-539.
RITTER, H. (1936) Griechisch-Koptische ziffem in Arabischen manuskripten. In: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali,* 16, pp. 212-213, followed by a note of Levi Delia Vida.

525 **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: Al-Andalus, 1944-2, pp. 371-417. In p. 373.

526 **COLIN, G. S.** (1933) De l'origine grecque des 'chiffres de Fès' et de nos 'chiffres arabes'. In. *Journal Asiatique* 222, pp. 193-215. Cited by In pp. 204-205.

Greek Numerals

These Greek numerals came from Egypt to Spain and were referred to as letters or writing register (*zimam*). Dozy gives multiple references with regards to the special value that the word *zimam* had in Arab Spain. It was a register in which people wrote their revenues and

expenses. Some are *zimam* ciphers, the same as those used for numerals by government officials and accountants.

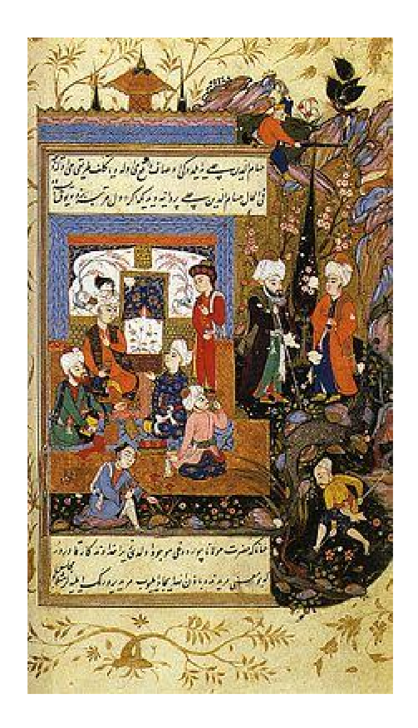
The *zimam* letters are twenty-seven signs that have the numerical values from one to nine in units, tens, and hundreds. They are supposed to be of Greek-Coptic origin and were used in the accountancy of the State[527]. Ibn Sab'in's father was a local administrator[528] and maybe Ibn Sab'in learned accounting and the use of *zimam* from him.

Abellah El Moussaquitaib[529] also refers to seventy, but in this case explains the name Ibn Sab'in. He is probably the only one who has done so. It is found in the epistle entitled Al-Nuriya (light)[530] and another entitled Al-Ihata (the global knowledge)[531]. In the first case Ibn Sab'in called himself "slave of God, the son of the degrees of repentance of the Prophet[532]" and the mystic manifested himself in this way: «This is a document in which one told the truth and in which appeared the truth; Abdu-l-Haqq revealed it [...]. Unanimously, one based the fame of the Creator multiplying seven by ten[533].»

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527 **COLIN, G. S.** (1933) De l'origine grecque des 'chiffres de Fès' et de nos 'chiffres arabes'. In. *Journal Asiatique* 222, pp. 193-215. Cited by In p. 205.
528 **LAGERLUND, Henrik** (2011) Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500, Canada, p. 508.
529 **EL MOUSSAOUI TAIB, Abdellah** (2014) El sufismo esotérico de Ibn Sabin, (s. VII-XIII d.C.). Dissertation, p. 32 for complete information.
530 **ʿABDULḤAQQ IBN SABʿIN** (1965) Risala Al-Nuriya. In: Maymuʿ Rasa 'il (manuscript of the Library Taymuriyya, with the number 149, issue «Taṣawwuf», Dar Al-kutub Al-Qawmiyya), edition 'Abd Al-Raḥman Badawi. Cairo, p. 184.
531 **IBN SAB'IN** (1965) Risala Al-Ihata, edition of 'Abd Al-Rahman Badawi. Cairo, pp. 23-24.
532 **EL MOUSSAOUI TAIB, Abdellah** (2014) El sufismo esotérico de Ibn Sabin, (s. VII-XIII d.C.). Dissertation, p. 32.
533 **IBN SAB'IN** (1965) Risala Al-Ihata, edition of 'Abd Al-Rahman Badawi. Cairo, p. 474.

‘Ali Darourge[534] indicates that the circle O = ع. The circle (O-Al-da'ira) in Al-Qamus Al-Muhit, it is said that Al-da'ira is what surrounds the thing (ع). This letter (ع) noted the number 70 in the literal count. Thus, (Ibn O) = ع = number 70 ie "Ibn 70 Ibn Sab'in".



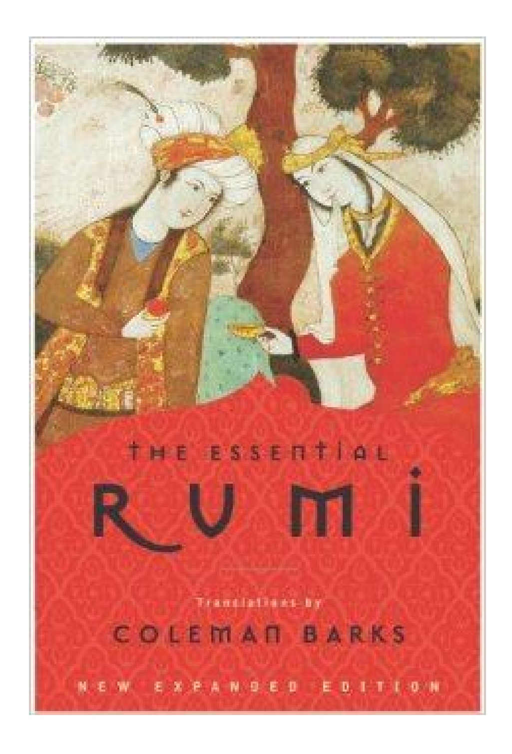
Jalal ad-Din Rumi gathers Sufi mystics.

Jelaluddin Rumi[535] (1207-1273) was a Persian poet, jurist, theologian, and Sufí mystic. He was born in Balkh, in what is now Afghanistan. He was in different towns, among them Baghdad, Damascus and Mece. Rumi's major work is the *Maṭnawiye Ma'nawi,* a six-volume poem regarded by some Sufis as the Persian-language Qur'an. It has

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534 by **‘ALIE DAHROUGE** (1983) Le probleme de l’âme chez Ibn Sab’in. Étude analytique du Budd Al-‘Arif. Thèse pour le Doctorat de 3ème Cycle. Université de Paris I. Panhteon-Sorbonne, p. 16.
535 **SCHIMMEL, Annemarie** (1994) The Mystery of Numbers. Oxford University Press.

been translated into English[536] and considered by many to be one of the greatest works of mystical poetry. It contains approximately 27000 lines of Persian poetry. Rumi lived in the time of Ibn Sab'in and consequently the Sufis of the Ricote Valley could have heard of him.



The peripatetic philosopher and Sufi called himself Ibn Dara. *Dara* here means a circle or ring or the halo round the moon, which is said to signify the number of zero and according to the *kadi* of Granada, Muhammad b. Ahmad (d. 760/1358-9), was said to correspond to the

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536 **NICHOLSON, Reynold Alleyne** (1925) The Mathnawí of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available: with critical notes, translation, & commentary by Reynolds Alleyne Nicholson (1868-1945) Cambridge.
MUHAMMAD IBN YA'QUB AL-SIRAZI AL-FIRUZABADI (1289/1871) Al-Qamus Al-Muhit. Al-Qahira, Matba'at Al-Amira, 1289 (1871), 2nd edition, Vol. 5, p. 345.

figure of seventy. In line with some methods of calculation it corresponds to the figure of seventy[537].

Up to here we have shown the interesting hypothesis of Jesús Joaquín López Morena and the detailed explanation of the origin of his name.

17.3. More about the word „Dara".

17.3.1. Dhra

It it worthwhile to know that Esteban Lator[538] reproduced the full name of Ibn Sab'in as figuring in the *Onomasticon arabicum*[539], except the nisba *Al-Marquti*, that there should be a confusion of *Al-Riquti*. In the record cards used by the authors of the Onomasticon one reads of *Al-Marquti* and on another occasion *Al-Marfuti*. The book *Ihata* adds: *Al-'Akki.*

As Professor Johnny de Meulemeester observed, the *agadir* or granary is sacred just like a saint's tomb or a mosque. No wrong doings are committed in the granary: no thefts, no trickery, no adultery, no lies or murder; the granary is inviolable and constitutes an asylum. The sacred nature might emanate from different sources. So it might originate from protection from a marabout or other religious

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537 **HANIF, N.** (2002) Biographical Encyclopaedia of Sufis: Africa and Europe, p. 77.

538 **LATOR, Stefan** (1944) Ibn Sab'in de Murcia y su Budd Al 'tarif. In: Al-Andalus, 1944-2, pp. 371-417 In p. 373.

539 **CAETANI, LEONE & GABRIELI, GIUSEPPE** (1915) Onomasticon arabicum, ossia Repertorio alfabetico dei nomi di persona e di luogo contenuti nelle principali opere storiche, biografiche e geografiche, stampate e manoscritte, relative all'Islām, compilato per cura di Leone Caetani e Giuseppe Gabrieli. Casa editrice italiana, Roma, II, p. 234

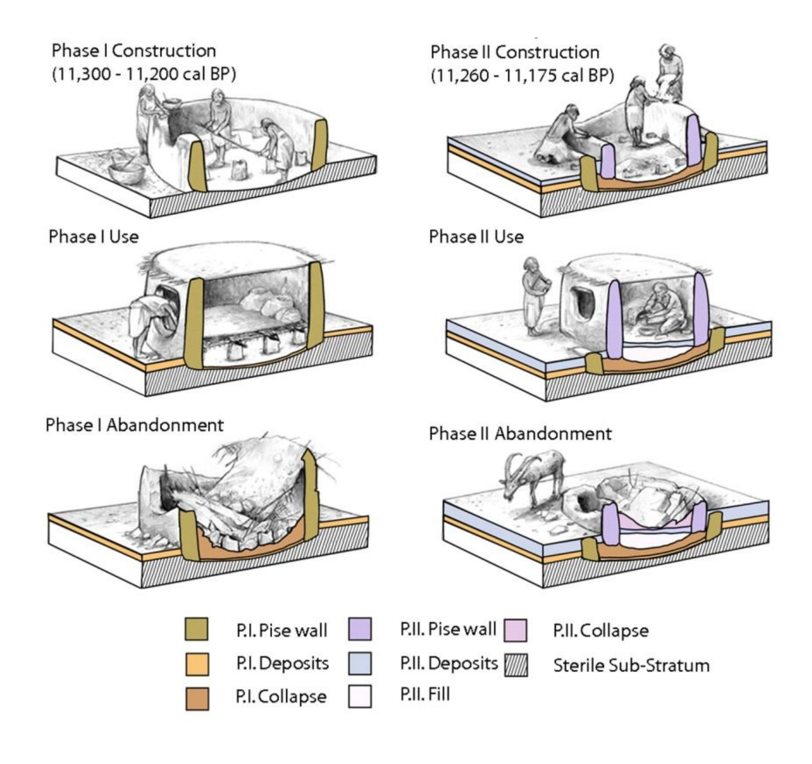
personages[540]. These are the saints of Islam. However, on the other hand, it is quite likely that the substrata of this belief are older than Islam itself.

Grain is sacred in itself, because it is the source of life. So is it acceptable that it is the stored grain itself that lends its magic power and the sacred inviolability it causes to the granary. When deals were concluded inside the granary, it was certainly done there to give the contracts this sacred protection. It is also meaningful that most of the agadirs were accommodated in a mosque, which emphasises the religious significance[541].

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540 **JAQUES-MEUNIER, D.** (1949) Greniers collectifs. In: Hesperis (Archives Berbères et Bulletin de L'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines), XXXVI, 1-2, pp. 97-138, p. 111.

541 **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2003) The Cabezo de la Cobertera (Valle de Ricote, Murcia) and the Fortified Graneries From the Maghreb to Central Europe. In: II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote: "Despierta tus sentidos". Blanca, 14, 15, 16 de Noviembre de 2003. Compilación de ponencias / coord. por Mª Cruz Gómez Molina, José María Sánchez Ortiz de Villajos, pp. 41-56, p. 45.



Life-history of Structure 4 granary Dhra′, Jordan. This illustration shows the cyclical process of construction, use, and abandonment over several hundred years. (Illustration by E. Carlson).

¿Dara has to do with "Dhra" of the word *bab Al-dhra'*? Recent excavations at Dhra′ near the Dead Sea in Jordan provide strong evidence for sophisticated purpose-built granaries in a predomestication context[542].

Another point can be added to the hypothesis of López Moreno. La Corona is one of the sacred granaries that were built by the indigenous

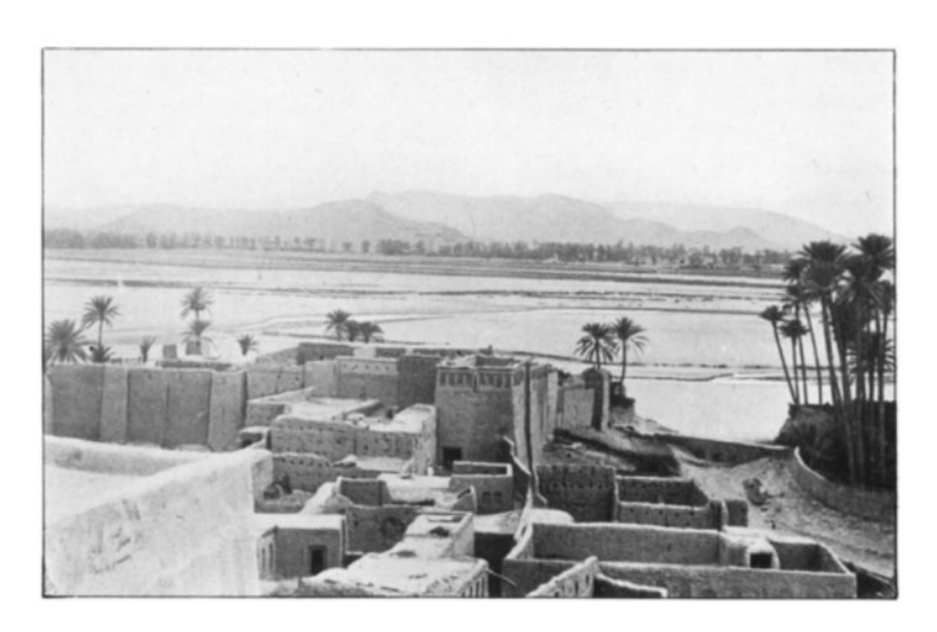
[542] **KUIJT, Ian and FINLAYSON, Bill** (2009) Evidence for Food Storage and Predomestiacation Granaries 11,000 Years Ago in the Jordan Valley. Edited by Ofer Bar-Yosef, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. (10966–10970 _ PNAS _ July 7, 2009 _ vol. 106 _ no. 27)

Berber tribes. The impressive structure of La Corona holds significant spiritual value and is defining a landmark of the region's cultural inheritance and religious history. This type of fortresses served as both a symbol of freedom and a holy site for the Berber people.

17.3.2. The Draa river was Dara

The Berber Draa also spelled Dra or Drâa, in older sources mostly Darha or Dara, is Morocco's longest river, 1,100 kilometres (680mi). It is formed by a confluence of the rivers Dadès and Imini. It flows from the High Atlas mountains south(east)ward to Tagounite and from Tagounite mostly westward to the Atlantic Ocean somewhat north of Tan-Tan. Most of the year the part of the Draa after Tagounite falls dry. The water from the Draa is used to irrigate palm groves and small plots of horticulture along the river. The inhabitants of the Draa are called *Drawa* in Arabic.

The Draa valley is famous as the date basket of Morocco. It grows more than 18 varieties. Fruit trees and vegetables are the main crops, but henna is also a well known product of the region. The agriculture is very labour-intensive because it takes place on terraced fields. Seguias (small canals) transport water from the river to the fields. Like some other ancient Berber oases in North Africa (Siwa, Kufra, Ouargla) the Draa valley was known for its qatarra, a sophisticated system of underground irrigation canals.



An Oasis in the Upper Draa
(Photo: Louis Gentil)

17.3.3. Seventy, circle close to power

Before concluding that the circle O has to do with Ibn Sab'in it is worth pointing out that *seventy* was also used in a complex structure of power around the caliph[543]:

> No le pasó desapercibida tampoco al gran historiador magrebí Ibn Jaldun la estructura que podríamos llamar "concéntrica" del poder almohade. El Mahdî entresacó a los más sobresalientes entre los Masmûda para formar el Consejo de los Diez o *al-Yamâ'a*; el llamado Grupo de los Cincuenta designaba a un

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[543] **MARTÍNEZ LORCA, Andrés** (2004) La reforma almohade: del impulso religioso a la política ilustrada. In: Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia de la UNED, Serie III, tomo 17, pp. 399-413. Citation on p. 409-410
BURESI, Pascal & HICHAM EL AALLAOUI. (2013) Governing the Empire. Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269). Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of Manuscript 4752 of the Hasaniyya Library in Rabat containing 77 Taqadim ("Appointments"). Brill, Leiden, pp. 30-32

círculo próximo al poder, pero diferenciado del núcleo consultivo principal. A sus compañeros les llamó *at-Talaba* ("los estudiantes") y a la masa de sus seguidores *al-Muwahhidîn* ("los unitarios o almohades"). En un historiador magrebí que vivió al final del imperio almohade, Ibn al-Qattân, encontramos expuesta con más detalle esa compleja estructura de poder en torno al califa: primer rango, los Diez; segundo, los Cincuenta; tercero, la asamblea de los Setenta; cuarto, los *talaba*; quinto, los *hâfiz*, hijos de los *talaba* que eran especialmente instruidos; y así, hasta un total de trece categorías. Le debemos a Emile Fricaud[544] una espléndida reconstrucción histórica de este círculo de poder almohade que fueron los *talaba*, hasta ahora poco estudiado.

Translation:

The great Maghrebi historian Ibn Jaldun did not overlook the structure of the Almohad power that we could call "concentric". The Mahdî culminated the most outstanding persons among the Masmūda to form the Council of Ten or *al-Yamâ'a*; The so-called Group of Fifties designated to circle close to power, but differentiated from the main advisory nucleus. His companions called them *at-Talaba* ("the students") and the mass of his followers *al-Muwahhidîn* ("Unitarians or Almohads"). In a Maghrebi historian who lived at the end of the Almohad empire, Ibn al-Qattan, we find in more detail that complex structure of power around the caliph: first rank, the Ten; Second, the Fifty; Third, the assembly of the Seventy; Fourth, the *talaba*, Fifth, the *hâfiz*, children of the *Talaba* who were specially instructed; And so on, up to a total of thirteen categories. We owe to Emile Fricaud a splendid historical reconstruction of this circle of Almohad power which were the *talaba*, hitherto little studied.

[544] **FRICAUD, EMILE** (1997). Les *talaba* dans la société almohade (le temps d'Averroès)". In: *Al-Qantara,* Vol. XVIII, 2, Cit., pp. 331-387.

18. HYPOTHESIS: THE ORIGIN OF NEGRA

With the different data now at hand it is possible to hypothesise on the origin of the village of Blanca, of which the name was Negra at the end of the 13^{th} century.

18.1. Almoravids in Murcia

From 400/1010 the Andalusian state unit will be broken and we will find another new division of the so-called taifa kingdoms; this would affect fractionating the road network, similar to the fragmentation of the network of Roman roads after the Imperial division, although on a smaller scale. From the period of the kingdoms of taifas we are before a waning and divided geopolitical map, while the Christian kingdoms from the north are progressively gaining ground. This is why the road network will be a preferred witness of the comings and goings of Muslim and Christian troops and their presence would determine the appearance of towers and castles for its control[545].

18.2. Almohads in Murcia

As a result of trying to take Cordoba, a formidable Almohad army was advancing from Seville across the Strait towards Murcia in 1165 and reinforced in the Peninsula. A few days later, on October 15, 1165 the Wolf King and his army suffered a crushing defeat in the place where the Guadalentín valley joins the Murcian meadow (*Fahs al-Yallab)*.

545 **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2005) La caminería en al-Andalus (ss. VIII – XV J.C): Consideraciones metodológicas, históricas y administrativas para su estudio. In: Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones, Nº. 9, pp. 34-64. Citation on p. 39

The impregnable walls of the city of Murcia protected the emir, the remnants of his army and civilians, but the rich garden and sumptuous mansions of Murcian nobles were at the mercy of the invaders, who destroyed and looted everything they wanted. The Mardanisi residence of Monteagudo was hit. This was the first serious setback of Ibn Mardanis during his reign.

However, there would soon be another setback. Some time after this, Ibn Humushk and his son-in-law, Ibn Mardanish, having quarrelled, the former made his submission to the Almohades in 1169. The cause of their quarrel was this: Ibn Mardanísh divorced his wife, the daughter of Ibn Humushk, who, accordingly, returned to her father. Having, some time afier, sent for a son of hers to be educated at her father's house, her late husband refused to comply with her request, and would never deliver up her son. At last, seeing her application disregarded, the mother said one day, —"After all, what is the son of a dog but a puppy? Let him keep him; I do not want him; which expressions she caused to be circulated among the women of Andalus. From that moment Ibn Mardanísh and Ibn Humushk became sworn enemies, and the latter, in order the better to revenge himself, embraced the party of the Almohades in 565 (beginning Sept. 24, 1169), and served under them against Ibn Mardanísh. In the year 571 (beginning July 21, A. D. 1175), however, Ibn Humushk asked for leave to cross over to Africa, and, having obtained it, settled with his family and children at Meknásah, where he died in Rejeb of 572 (January, A. D. 1177).

18.2.1. The Region of Murcia

Now the Almohads had an enemy less and they had to fear nothing more from Ibn Humushk. This was probably the reason why they set their eyes on the Region of Murcia again, because exactly this year the chroniclers mentioned the installation by the Almohads of a [Haskura] contingent in Murcia around 1169-1170. It was important for the

Almohads to submit the villages in this region one by one. However, to do so they needed income to cover their expenses.

18.2.1.1. The Ricote Valley

On the other hand their soldiers needed water and food. Therefore the best place for establishing themselves was Negra, a village in the Ricote Valley. In this place the Almohads would have at their disposal the customs houses of Puerto de la Losilla to make money and on the other hand they could have food and water by means of the granary and river in Darrax.

18.2.1.1.1. Puerto de la Losilla

Puerto de la Losilla was a strategic point where two main roads came together - the Roman Road and the road coming from Jumilla. We suppose that in the Muslim time *robda,* a variant of the etymological form *rodva* [or rutba] was a tax paid for the cattle in Puerto de la Losilla. On the other hand *arrobda* was the rural guard who collected taxes. All these voices with a customs sense were in the interest of the Almohads, because they needed money to pay their army. Consequently this tax point was an ideal place for the Almohad army that came into the region of Murcia in 1169-1170. However, we can say the same for the members of the Haskura tribe who came to Murcia after the surrender of the Mardanish family in 1172. As we know, an army does not exist only of soldiers, it also has the disposal of advisers, religious leaders (marabouts, Sufís), and other experts.

18.2.1.1.2. Wahda mutlaqa

Since the Almohads and their religious leaders patronized the study of Greek philosophy, they were largely responsible for editing and

annotating the texts of Aristotle[546]. It was in this way that the number of *monistic* and *pantheistic* tendencies increased in the *Wadi Riqut* (Ricote Valley), where the extremist mystical doctrine of *Wahda mutlaqa* was applied.

18.2.1.1. El Darrax

Since the Arabists refer to the Wadi Riqut (Ricote Valley) as a place where the inhabitants were adhered in those years to an extremist mystical doctrine known as *Wahda mutlaqa* it is reasonable to think that this was practiced in the fortified granary of Darrax, being a holy place.

18.2.1.1.1. Ibn Sab'in

It is sensible to discard the idea that Ibn Sab'in could have been from Ricote. It is more logical to think that he came from the Berber granary in El Darrax, because the granary there was a holy place. On the other hand there is a similarity between the Moroccan Sufi Sidi Abu Yi'zza in the mountainous region of Haskura in the High Atlas and Ibn Sab'in.

18.2.1.1.2. The fortified granary

The Haskura tribe could also in those years have built the fortified granary in Darrax in the same manner as they had done in the High Atlas or was it a continuation of the Masmuda tribe? The Ait Bougmez fortified granary is still a good example.

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[546] **GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Ángel** (1974) La época medieval. Madrid, Alianza Editorial, p. 124

There is enough reason to believe that the granary of Negra (Blanca) could for some time have been a state or community granary to store part of its cereals in the form of tax for the state[547]. As can be read in the *risala fi awqat al-sana* probably from the 13th century, it was necessary to give the surveillance of the granaries to people directly linked to state institutes[548]. So the mission of the new castle of Negra (Blanca) was to control the granary too.

The granary is situated in a territory known as Pago[549] de la Corona[550]. Here the question is whether the name *Corona* had to do with the Spanish Crown with a view to collect taxes as continuation of the Muslim time, or whether it was the form of the hill on top of which the granary was situated.

18.2.1.2. The castle of Negra

When the Almohad Caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, son of 'Abd al-Mu'min and his troops arrived in Murcia, he stayed a whole month. Yusuf took care to secure the existing fortress and build new ones, as must have been the case in Negra (Blanca).

Building new castles was absolutely necessary taking into account the pressure exerted on this territory by the Christian feudal kingdoms, conquest

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547 **ADAM, A.** (1950) La Maison et le Village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas. In:*Hespéris, tome XXXVII,* pp. 289-362. Citation on p. 328

548 Risala fi awqat al-sana. (1990) Un calendario andalusí anónimo. Traducción y edición: **María de los Ángeles Navarro García,** Granada, pp. 94 & 239. *Apud* **MEOUAK, Mohamed** (2001) Graneros y silos en las fuentes árabes del occidente islámico medieval. Anaquel de Estudios Árabes 12, pp. 443-447. Citation on p. 444

549 The word *pago* (payment) comes from the Latin "pagus". It was very common in the Modern Age in Castilian and applied in the meaning of "land", and more precisely "certification", meaning "certification" as a known administrative division by all at the time.

550 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Murcia. Protocolo 9334 de Blanca, folios 36-40, 8 de junio de 1604.

of Tortosa (1148), Lleida (1149), Teruel (1170), and Cuenca (1177), and the military incursions of Alfonso II of Aragon in Játiva (1172) and Murcia (1177 and 1179) would be the triggering factor that would explain the building of castles in such a high number[551].

The increase in the number of Andalusian populations and the great increase of its inhabitants would make it a priority to control the immediate localities rather than the roads themselves. In this way from the the 13th century the "Almohad defensive system" would extend that was articulated on the basis of urban strengths and located on low hills and with direct control of the nearby local populations[552].

On the other hand governors were sent to the castles. Since the war was over, the soldiers and other members of the Haskura tribe were now involved with the construction of the castle in Negra (Blanca), while other members, among them their religious leaders, established themselves in Darrax and the other parts of the Ricote Valley.

According to Hopkins[553] the army of the Almohads was not paid with fixed salaries, but received land and titles. Kennedy[554] reports something similar. He states that salaries were paid only when the cashier allowed this. During the campaigns the soldiers were free to plunder after a successful siege. So if there were inhabitants in the Ricote, they had - even at time of peace - a very bad time with the new rulers.

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[551] **RUIZ MOLINA, Liborio** (2009) *Yakka:* un castillo de Sarq al-Andalus en los siglos XIIy XIII. Aproximación histórica al poblamiento almohade en Yecla (Murcia). In: Tudmir. Revista del museo Santa Clara. Murcia, pp. 77-138. Citation on p. 83

[552] **FRANCO SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2005) La caminería en al-Andalus (ss. VIII – XV J.C): Consideraciones metodológicas, históricas y administrativas para su estudio. In: Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones, Nº. 9, pp. 34-64. Citation on pp. 44-45

[553] **HOPKINS, J.F.P.** (1958) Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary. London, pp. 82-84

[554] **KENNEDY, H.** (1996) *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, London, p. 219

Berber Almohads in certain circumstances when conquering a town sold the women captured and others became concubines of military commanders of the Almohad army[555].

The castle of Negra was also involved in the taxes obtained in Puerto de la Losilla. I dare to state this, because according to historical documents Puerto de la Losilla *always* had to do with the city of Negra (Blanca) as we have seen on previous pages.

Thomas F. Glick gives us an idea of what the castle was used for in those centuries and from that we can conclude that the castle of Negra (Blanca) was of a military structure and in the hands of the state. Its mission in the Almohads' time was to control the peasantry and obtain the necessary taxes from them.

> The picture of rural life in al-Andalus that emerged was of a countryside organized in complexes of castles (*husun*; singular, *hisn*) and villages (*qura*; singular, *qarya*; in Spanish, *alquería*), the latter organized tribally, at least at the time of their initial settlement, and typically practicing irrigation agriculture.
> (.....) In general the *husun* were not permanently garrisoned, but served as refuges for the villages and their beasts at times of insecurity. At such times the state would dispatch a *qa'id* (captain) to oversee the castle to make sure that it was provisioned with wood and water (which appears to have been a peasant obligation), or else to collect taxes owed to the state. That is, the model does not envision a feudalized castle with a permanent garrison and castellan whose role is to control the peasantry[556].

The word *portazgo* had to do with a toll that was paid for transit. The castle of Negra (Blanca) was a castle of the state that always had to do with the customs office El Puerto de la Losilla, as well as collecting taxes from the peasants in the Ricote Valley. Therefore its daily

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555 **MARÍN, Manuela** (2000) Mujeres en al-ándalus (Estudios onomástico-biográico de al-Andalus, XI). Madrid: CSIC, pp. 684-685

556 **GLICK, Thomas F.** (2003) Archeology. In: Routledge Revivals: Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia. Edited by E. Michael Gerli. New York, p. 101

mission was to control the peasants of the Ricote valley. Consequently some of the officials and their families and other workers started living nearby the castle, which was the beginning of the village of Negra (Blanca).

19. Appendix

19.1. Puerto de La Losilla

1267

Privilegio de Alfonso X al concejo de Murcia. Confirmando los privilegios anteriores y otorgándoles otros nuevos. Jaén, 18 de mayo de 1267. (Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Libro de privilegios, fols. 11r. - 14r.) (Puerto de La Losilla).

En el nombre de Dios, Padre e Fijo e Spiritu Santo, amen. Sepan quantos esta carta uieren e oyeren, cuemo nos, don Alfonso, por la gracia de Dios, rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de Leon. de Gallizia, de Cordoua, de Murcia, de Jahen e del Algarue. Porque el concejo de los christianos pobladores de la noble cibdat de Murcia nos enuiaron su carta con sus mandaderos e pedir merçed con ellos que les diesemos tales franquezas que las yentes ouiesen mayor sabor de venir y a poblar, e otrosi, que les fiziesemos merced de cosas que los sus mandaderos nos pidrian merced a nuestro seruicio e a pro de la cibdat, nos, por muy gran sabor que auemos de fazer simpre bien e merced a los pobladores christianos que moraren en la cibdat de Murcia, tan bien a los que agora y son moradores como a los que y seran de aqui adelante, porque sean mas ricos y mas abondados e mas honrrados e nos puedan fazer mayor seruicio, otorgamosles e confirmamosles por nos e por los nuestros e por quantos despues de nos regnaren, que ayan pora todos tiempos aquella merced que les fezimos en el preiuilegio que les diemos en Seuilla, que ayan dos juezes e vna iusticia, que los muden cada anno por la sant Johan Babtista e vsen dello de como dize su preuilegio. Otrosy, les otorgamos e les confirmamos que ayan un almotaçen e que lo fagan conçeieramientre, asy como el dicho preuilegio dize.

Otrosy, les damose les otorgamos que los christianos e los judios de la cibdat e del termino de Murcia, tambien los estrannos commo los vezinos que fueren en la cibdat, vengan a juizio de los juezes de la cibdat de como lo fazen en Seuilla, onde han fuero, salvo

por las rendas del almoxarifadgo, que fagan segund de Seuilla e de Toledo, e saluo, otrosi, si judio e judio ouiesen pleyto entre sy.

Otrosi, por fazerles onrra, bien e merced, damosles e otorgamosles que las primeras alçadas que seran fechas de dies maravedis arriba en las villas e en los logares que nos auemos dado por termino a la cibdat de Murcia, que vengan en poder de los juezes de la cibdat e sy las deuieren confirmar ellos, que las confrmen, e si se deuieren reuogar, que las reuoguen segund su fuero; las de diez maravedis ayuso queremos que se delibren en sus lugres. Otrosy les damos e les otorgamos que los juezes puedan auer escriuanos segund que es en Seuilla, mas queremos que y aya siempre un escriuano nuestro que lo sepa todo e nos de recabdo dello quando nos ge lo demandaremos. Otrosi, les damos e les otorgamos que la casa que en tiempo de moros solian decir Dar Ayarif, que sea del concejo e los juezes que iudguen en ella, mas queremos que la iusticia la tenga e guarde los presos en ella.

Otrosi, les damos e les otorgamso que las tiendas que los christianos vendran los pannos de Francia e las tiendas de los canuios de las monedas e la pelligeria sean en aquella carrera que el rey de Aragon fizo derribar las casas, de Santa Maria fasta al muro de la cibdat faza el Arrixaca. Otrosi, les damos e les otorgamos que las calles de los armeros, e de los selleros, e de los freneros, e de los bruneteros, e de los blanqueros, e de los çapateros, e de los correros, e de los carpenteros, e las carneçerias, e las pescaderias, sean en aquellos logres que los partidores les dieron con consejo de los omes buenos de la cibdat. E mandamos que de las tablas de las carnecerias e de las pescaderias, las dos partes ean en la carneceria mayor, e la tercera parte en la carneceria de la puerta de Orihuela. E deffendemos que ninguno no sea osado de vender ningunas carnes ni pescados en otras tablas ni en otros logares si non en las nuetras, en aquellos logres que nos mandamos, saluo tocinos o puercos enteros salados, que los puedan cada vnos vender en sus casas a quien quisieren e anguiellas menudas e sardinas saladas e costales de congrios e de pixotas saladas.

Otrosy, porque nos pidieron por merced que todas las tiendas de la Traperia e de los canuios e de la pellegeria e de todos los otros

mesteres de la cibdat que las diesemos a çienso por cosa sabuda cada anno pora todos tiempos, otorgamos e damosgelas en tal guisa que por cada vna tienda de la traperia aquellos cuyas fueren nos den cada anno de çienso quatro morauedis alfonsis en oro, e por cada vna tienda de los canuios tres morauedis alfonsis en oro e or cada vna tienda de la bruneteria dos morauedi alfonsi en oro, e por cada vna tabla de carnecerias e de las pescaderias tres morauedis alfonsis en oro. Este çienso queremos e mandamos que lo den a nos e a quantos despues de nos regnaren cada anno en la fiesta de sant Johan Babtista del mes de junio. E otrosi, retenemos pora nos con este çienso, fadiga de treynta dias e loysmo. E por fazerles bien e merçed queremos que por razon del loysmo no nos denmas del diesmo de aquello porque las vendieren. E avn les otorgamos que saluo nuestro çienso e nuestro loysmo no nos den ninguna cos de quanto vendieren en las dichas tiendas ny en las tablas de las carnecerias e de las pescaderias.

Otrosy, queremos e mandamos quel mercado e la feria sean a la puente allende el rio, porque seran en mas comunal lugar or razon de los moros. Otrosy, les damos e les otorgamos que los vezinos christianos moradores de la cibdat de Murcia puedan tennir en sus casas o do quisieren de quales tintas querran, saluo de tintas de indio e de grana e de laca e de brasil, que estas quatro queremos e mandamos que se tingan en nuestra caldera, pero retenemos pora nos que de las tiendas o de los logares o fizieren tennir las otras tintas, que nos den de cada tinta o de cada logar vn morauedi alfonsi en oro cada anno de cienso.

Otrosy, por fazer bien e merced a los vezinos moradores de la çibdat e de su termino e tan bien a todos los del regno de Murcia, otorgamos e mandamos que no den en rotoua en ningun logar sy no en aquellos logares o se solian dar en tiempo de Miralmemim e que no den mas de quanto era acostumbrado de dar en aquel tiempo, e otrosy, queremos e mandamos que aquellos logares o la rocoua se diere, que se guarden de como entonçe se guardaua. E si en los caminos o en los terminos o la rocoua se diere danno nenguno se fiziere aquellos que la rocoua tomaren, den recabdo de los malfechores e del danno e sigan el rastro en guisa que los otros vezinos del termino o el rastro pusieren lo puedan luego seguir o dar

recabdo dello sy no emienden el danno aquellos a quien sera fecho en sus terminos de commo nos mandamos por nuestras cartas e esto fezimos por pro de la tierra. Mandamos, otrosi, que los nuestros concejos, tan bien de la çibdat de Murçia, como de los otros logares del regno, guarden sus terminos. Otrosy, les otorgamos que todo ome que troxere ganado de tierra del rey de Aragon a Murçia no pague por razon de almoxarifadgo en la cibdat ni en la Arrixaqua mas de ocho morauedis e medio por çentenar. Otrosy, les damos e les otorgamos que todos lo vezinos de la çibdat de Murcia e del termino sean francos en la çibdat e en el termino de Murçia de quanto ganado troxeren de Castiella e de otro logar por su criança.

Otrosy, les otorgamos que cada vno venda su vino en su casa o ally o mejor pudiere a los christianos, mas retenemos pora nos alfondiga sabuda o compren los moros vino e no en otro logar. Otrosy, como quier que reteniendo nos auiamos pora nos pesos e mesurages e tiendas e otros derechos, otorgamosles e mandamosles que del mesurar e del pesar vsen asy como en Seuilla de aquello que mesuraren o pesaren pora sus casas o vendieren en la villa de los christianos. Otrosy, les otorgamos e les mandamos que ningun ricome ni cauallero ni otro ome que venga en Murcia no pose en sus casas por fuerça sin voluntad de los juezes e de los jurados. Otrosy, les otorgamos e queremos quel concejo pueda escoger omes buenos de la çibdat por jurados que sean endereçadores de los fechos de la çibdat; e cada anno que los muden quando los juyzes se mudaren; e sy nos fueremos en la çibdat, que juren a nos, e sy nos non fuesemos en la tierra que vengan a aquel que estudiere y por nos,, e les tome las juras en nuestro logar que cada vno faga aquel officio bien e lealmientre, guardando todavia a nos e a los nuestros, nuestro sennorio e nuestros derechos en todas cosas e poro de la çibdat. Mas mandamos e defendemos que ellos ni ninguno del conçejo no faga apartamiento ni allegamientos ni fablas ningunas a menos de los juezes e de la justicia e cada que ovieren acuerdo que lo ayan en Dar Axarif o los juezes deuen jusgar los pleytos.

Otrosy, les otorgamos que ordenes no ayan casas ni heredamientos en la çibdat de Murçia ni en su termino, sy no aquellos

a quien nos las auemos dado o nos o los nuestros lo dieremos daqui adelante por nuestros preuilegios. Otorgamos, otrosy, e mandamos que losia lerigos ayan e puedan auer casas e heredamientos en la çibdat e en todo el regno de Murçia por razon de compra o por razon de heredamientos que ereden de sus padres o de sus madres o de sus parientes o por otra derecha razon, pero en esta manera, que en aquello que ouieren sea saluo a nos todo nuestro derecho, aquel que auemos e deuemos auer en ello, asy como lo auiemos en los nuestros omes; e otrosy, que lo no puedan dar ni vender ni canuiar ni enagenar a eglesia ni a orden sin nuestro mandado ni menguen el nuestro derecho ni el nuestro sennorio.

Otrosi, les damos e les otorgamos que ayan en la çibdat de Murçia escriuanos publicos pora fazer cartas, asy como en Seuilla los ha el concejo, e que los omes buenos los escojan conçeieramientre sabidores e leales e tales que sean buenos pora aquel officio. E que los juezes e la justicia tomen las juras dellos que bien e lealmente fagan su oficio e guarden todavía a nos nuestros derechos en todas cosas.

Otrosy, les otorgamos e los confirmamos de como su preuillegio dize, que todos los cavalleros que fueren heredados en la çibdat de Murcia e su termino que sean nuestros vasallos e del infante don Fernando nuestro fijo primero e heredero e de los otros nuestros herederos que regnaren despues de nos en nuestro logar pora siempre. E los que fueren vasallos de otros pierdan los heredamientos que y ouieren. Otrosy, les otorgamos e mandamos que sy algun ome que aya estado preso en nuestra cadena quando saliere della si no ouiere de que pueda pagar el personage, que no pague nada e sea suelto, pero aquel que ouiere de que pagar pague tres sueldos de pepiones, asy como en Seuilla e non mas.

Otrosy, mandamos que los alfayates no ayan nenguna cosa sabuda de los pannos ni de las penas que los traperos ni los pellegeros vendieren. Otrosy, les otorgamos que las aguas de las açequias sean partidas entre los chistianos e los moros por derecho, segund que cada vnos deuieren auer su parte, e los christianos pongan un cequiero conçeieramientre con consejo del almoxeerif, e los moros, otrosi, otro, segund es costumbre que los muden cada anno, e tomen las yuras dellos los juezes e el almoxarife en conçejo.

Otrosy, por fazerles mas bien e mas merced otrogamosles que de toda demanda de que no deua ser fecha iusticia corporal, aunque sea la querella fecha ante los juezes e la iusticia, sy fasta diez dias despues que la querella sera fecha, aquel de quien se querellaren se pudiere adobar con aquel que se auie querellado del, que lo puedan fazer sin calona, que no sean tenudos de dar el vno ni el otro. Otrosy, les otorgamos que quando los pleytos seran començacos por cada unnas de las partidas, que los yuezes tomen yuras dellas que no demanden ni defiendan nenguna razon maliçiosamientre ni traygan falsos testigos en pleytos.

Otrosy, les otorgamos que aquellos que de quien fueren las tiendas o se vendieren las obras del **esparto** e de tierra e del vidrio, que nos den vn morauedi alfonsi en oro cada anno, otrosy, en razon del çienso, por la sant Johan Babtista; mas retenemos pora nos que los maestros christianos que labraren la obra del esparto e de tierra e del vidrio, que nos den nuestro derecho asy coo en Seuilla. E por fazerles merced, si en Seuilla o en Toleda nos dan el diezmo, queremos que nos den en Murçia el quinzeno.

Otrosy, maguer nos retengamos pora nos la tafureria de coo es en Seuilla, otoragmos que los omes buenos ioguen en sus casas o do quisieren todo juego, e que la justiçia ni otro ninguno no les damande nada por razon del juego. Otrosy, mandamos e deffendemos que la iusticia ni otro juez ninguno no tengan alfondiga ni logar sabudo de malas mugeres, mas mandamos que los juezes e los omes buenos de la çibdat las guarden que ninguno no les faga fuerça ni tuerto e las defiendan de como las deuen defender nuestro alguazil de Seuilla. Otrosy, mandamos que la justicia no aya que ver con ningund ome de fecho de las mugeres, saluo por mger forçada o casada, si no asi como es en el fuero de Sevilla. Otrosy, mandamos que iusticia ni otro ome ninguno no demande en nengund tiempo vn pipion ni mas de ninguna carga de lenna que trayan a la cibdat. Otrosy mandamos e defendemos que la justicia ni otro ome no demande por asipse ninguna cosa a ningund mercadero vezino de la cibdad ni a estranno por razon de las balas e los troxiellos que troxiere a la cibdad o sacare ende, sy non lo

fiziere en ayuda del almoxarife por razon de recabdar nuestros derechos.
Otrosy, por fazerles mas merced mandamos que los juyzes ni otro omne en ningund tiempo no demanden a los tauerneros ny a las panaderas or razon de pan ni de vino que vendan, los tres pipiones que les demandauan por cada mes los alcaldes que nos y auiamos puestos. Otrosy mandamos e defendemos que les menestrales e los omes que no labraren no den al obispo de Cartagena en ningund tiempo mas de quanto dan los de Seuilla al arçobispo, que vsen dello asy como agora dan en Seuilla en era desta carta. Otrosy, otorgamos quel concejo pueda escoger los corredores que seran mester en la cibdat e tales que sean buenos e leales pora aquello, e que los juezes e la justiçia tomen las yuras dellos en concejo. Otrosy, por fazer mas bien e mas merced a todos los moradoes de la çibdad e de todos los logares del reyno de Murçia, tan bien a los que agora y son, como a los que seran de aqui adelante, otorgamosles e mandamos que todos sus ganados pascan francamente por todo el reyno de Murçia las yeruas de las montannas e de los llanos, e beuan las aguas, saluo ende que no fagan danno en huertas ni en panes ni en vinnas, e si danno fizieren mandamos que lo emienden de como es derecho. Otrosy, les otorgamos e les mandamos que caçen francamientre en todo el regno por o quisieren e corten en los montes pora lenna e pora caruon e pora madera de casas, saluo ende aruoles que fueren de otri que lieuen fruto. E que tagen e fagan taiar piedras de las pedreras quantas quisieren, e puedan fazer e mandar fazer cal y yeso quanto ovieren mester pora labrar e fazer su pro dello. E tomen tierra quanta quisieren pora adriellos e pora tejas e pora tapiar. E que pesquen francamientre en aguas dulces e en la mar, saluas nuestras alboheras e las que auemosdado al infante don Manuel nuestro hermano o a otri con nuestros preuillegios. E mandamos e defendemos que ninguno no faga defesa en ningund logar del regno de grana ni de conejos ni de pastos, sy non como era vsado en tiempo de Miralmomen.

Otrosy, otorgamosles que los jurados de la çibdad de Murçia escojan cada anno dos omes bonos de cada collaçion que fagan alimpiar los açarbes mayores de la huerta porque non se faga almarjal, e los juezes e la justiçia tomen las juras dellos en concejo que lo fagan

bien e lealmientre; e los açarbes que fueren comunialmientre de los christianos e de los moros, que los alimpien comunalmientre los christianos e los moros; e los que fueren apartadamientre de los christianos, que lo alimpien los christianos a sus missiones, e los que fueren apartadamientre de los moros, que los alimpien los moros a sus missiones. Pero si los christianos e los moros se quisieren acordar entresipse que los alimpien dessouno plazenos e otorgamoslo. Otrosy, mandamos que ningun judio en la çibdad de Murçia no more entre christianos, mas que ayan su iuderia apartada a la puerta de Orihuela, en aquel logar que los partidores les dieron por nuestro mandado.

Otrosy, porque los cavalleros e los cibdadanos e los vezinos de la noble çibdat de Murçia e de su termino entiendan e sepan que non queremos que ninguno les venga contra los fueros e las franquezas e los preuillegios que nos les auemos dados, tan bien a los que agora y son moradores como a los que y seran de aqui adelante, otorgamosles e mandamos que si nuestra carta viniere a Murçia contra los fueros e las franquezas e los preuilegios que les auemos dados, que nos lo fagan saber e entre tanto que den fiador en poder de nuestro adelantado o daquel que estudiere y en su logar que cumpla quanto nos mandaremos

TORRES FONTES, JUAN (1963). Documentos de Alfonso X el Sabio, Codom 1, Murcia. pp. 43-49

19.2. Don Sancho, rey de Castilla

1285-XI-19, Sevilla. -Privilegio rodado de concesión a la Orden de Santiago del valle de Ricote. (AHN. Uclés, 293, Nº 2).
(Chrismon. Alfa. Omega). En el nombre de Dios que es Padre, et Fijo et Spiritu Sancto, que son tres personas et un Dios que biue et regna paa sienpre jamas. Natural cosa es que todas las cosas que naçen que fenesçan todas quanto en la uida deste mundo cada uno ha su tienpo sabido et non finca otra cossa que cabo non aya sinon Dios, que nunca ouo comienço nin aura fin, et a semejança de si ordenó los angeles et la corte çelestial que commo quier que quiso que ouiesen comienço, dioles que non ouiesen cabo ni fin, mas que durasen por sienpre, que asi commo el es duradero sin fin, que asi durase aquel regno por sienpre jamas. Por ende, todo omne que de bona uentura es se deue sienpre amenbrar de aquel regno a que ha de yr et de lo que Dios le da en este mundo partirlo con el en remision de sus pecados, que segund dizen los sanctos padres que la cosa del mundo porque mas gana omne el regno de Dios si es faziendo alimosna. Por ende nos conosciendo esto et sabiendo que auemos a yr a aquella uida perdurable, sintiendonos de nuestros pecados, tenemos por derecho de lo emendar a Dios por alimosna et por quantas carreras nos pudieremos fallar para cobrar la su graçia et aquel bien que es duradero para sienpre.

Por ende, queremos que sepan por este nuestro priuilegio todos los que agora son et seran de aqui adelante commo nos don Sancho, por la gracia de Dios rey de Castiella, de Toledo, de Leon, de Gallizia, de Seuilla, de Cordoua, de Murçia, de Jahen et del Algarbe en uno con la reyna donna Maria mi muger et con la infante donna Ysabel, nuestra fija primera et heredera, por muchos seruiçios que donn Pedro Nunnez, maestre de la Orden de Caualleria de Santiago et los freyres dessa mesma orden nos fizieron et nos fazen por sabor que auemos de acrecentar la su orden porque mas conplidamente puedan seruir a Dios et a nos et porque viemos una carta seellada con nuestro seello colgado de çera, en que nos ge lo prometimos quando eramos infante, damos en remission de nuestros pecados al maestre don Pedro Nunnez et a los freyres dessa mesma Orden Val de Ricote con Negra et con Fauaran et con Oxox et con la Ruebda de la Losiella.

Et estos logares sobredichos le damos con los pobladores que agora y son et seran de aqui adelante con sus alcarias et con todos sus terminos asi commo mejor et mas conplidamente lo auien en tienpo de moros et de christianos fasta aqui, con montes, et con fuentes, con rios, con pastos, con fornos, con molinos, con tiendas, con atahonas, con montadgos, con portadgos, con entradas et con sallidas, et con todos los derechos et con todas las pertenençias que estos logares han et deuen hauer. Et otorgamosloes que los ayan libres et quitos por juro de heredat para sienpre jamas ellos et los que despues dellos uinieren, para dar et uender et enpennar et camiar et enagenar et para fazer dellos et en ellos todo lo que quisieren asi commo maestre et conuento deuen fazer de las cosas de su Orden, en tal manera que los non puedan uender nin dar nin enagenar a eglesia ninn a otra orden ni a omne de religion nin a omne de fuera de nuestro sennorio nin que sean contra nnos sin nuestro madado. Et que fagan destos castillos guerra et paz por nos en estos logares sobredichos moneda forera et justiçia si la ellos non fiziesen et mineras si las hy ha o las ouiere daqui adelante.

Et defendemos que ninguno non sea osado de yr contra este priuilegio paa quebrantalo nin para menguarlo en ninguna cosa, ca cualquier que lo fiziese aurie nuestra ira et pecharnos y e en coto diez mill marauedis de moneda nueua et al maestre et a la Orden sobredicha o a quien su boz touiese todo el danno doblado. Et porque esto sea firme et estable mandamos seellar este priuilegio con neustro seelo de plomo.

Fecho el priuilegio en Seuilla, lunes XIX dias andados del mes de nouienbre, era de mill CCCXXIII annos.

Et nos, el sobredicho rey don Sancho, reynante en uno con la regna donna Maria mi muger et con la infante Ysabel, nuestra fija primera et heredera en Castiella, en Toledo, en Leon, en Gallizia, en Seuilla, en Cordoua, en Murçia, en Jahen, en Baeça, en Badalloz et en el Algarbe otorgamos este priuilegio et confirmamoslo. (.....)

TORRES FONTES, JUAN (1973). Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia, Codom III, Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia.

19.3. Fernán Oller, 1383

1383-XI-9. (Ricote).- Martín Alfonso de Valdivieso, adelantado por el conde de Carrión, a Fernán Oller, procurador de la ciudad de Murcia, y a los jurados de la misma. Ordenando que hiciesen averiguacionnes para capturar a los que mataron a un pastor entre los términos de Jumilla y Ricote. (A.M.M. A.C. 1383, fol. 40v-41r).

Ferrand Oller, procurador del conçeio de la muy noble çibdat de Murçia, e a los jurados de la dicha çibdat, yo, Martin Alfonso de Valdeuielso, comendador de Ricote e adelantado del rey en el regno de Murçia por don Iohan Sanchez Manuel, conde de Carrion, vos enbio mucho saludar como aquellos para quien querria que diese Dios mucha onrra.

Fago vos saber que este sabado que agora paso en la tarde, vinieron a mi omnes de Jumilla a me dezir e afrontar que vn omne que venia con vn poco de ganado que lo auian fallado çerca de su termino muerto e en termino de aqui de Ricote, e el ganado que traya que fallaran pieça dello comido de lobos e el otro muerto e lo otro que quedara que se acojera a otro fato de ouejas que y andaua. E dixieron me que, pues aquel malefiçio era fecho en termino de Ricote, que yo que mandase tomar el rastro en tal manera que ellos e el conçeio de Jumilla fuesen quitos e sy pudiese ser sabida la verdat que los malfechores que ouiesen pena e el que auia reçebido el daño que ouiese conplimiento de derecho. E yo, veyendo que demandauan razon e derecho, enbie luego a Sancho Royz, mi alcayde, e Ferrand Perez de Soto, notario del rey, e otros escuderos de los mios con ellos, e por quanto era de noche fueron dormir a Blanca por quanto auia mas parte en aquel termino que en otras alquerias de aqui de Ricote; e otro dia, domingo, de mañana, este que agora paso de la era desta carta, fueron los de Jumilla con el dicho alcayde e con el dicho escriuano en el lugar que jazia aquel omne muerto e pieça de moros de los de Blanca, e el dicho alcayde afronto e requirio a los dichos omnes buenos de Jumilla que le mostrasen la entrada de aquellos malfechores que aquel malefiçio fizieran, e otrosi, la salida a qual parte se acojera, e ellos fizieron lo asy e mostraron le el rastro de tres omnes que vinieron en

pos del por la ranbla ayuso que se llama de Chimoso, e despues desto mostraron le el rastro de la salida destos tres omnes contra el Canpiello que dizen del rey, que es vuestro termino de la çibdat.

Porque vos pido e requiero de parte del rey e porque sodes tenudos de lo fazer de derecho, que enbiedes luego, syn otro alongamiento, algunos omnes buenos de vuestro conçeio con vn ofiçial a que tomen el rastro de aquellos malfechores fasta que lo saquen del vuestro termino e lo entreguen al otro en cuyo termino fueren alcançados los dichos malfechores; a los que vinieren que vengan derechos a La Losiella a que lo fagan saber a los del alqueria de Blanca, que yo les he mandado que vayan luego mostrar les todo esto que dicho he; e sy lo asy fizieredes faredes derecho e lo que deuedes, e no lo faziendo asy protesto que los del Valle de Ricote sean quitos e el dicho conçeio de la çibdat que se pare a todas costas e daños e menoscabos e a todas las otras cosas que sobre esto recreçieren. E digo de parte del rey e ruego de la mia a qualquier escriuano publico, ante quien esta mi carta fuere mostrada, que de ende al omne que esta mi carta vos mostrare testimonio, signado con su signo, en manera que faga fe, porquel dicho señor rey sepa en como conplides su seruiçio; e porque lo creades enbio vos esta mi carta, sellada con mi sello, en que escreui mi nombre.

Fecha nueue dias de Nouienbre, era de mill e quatrozientos e veynte e hun años. Martin Alonso.

VEAS ARTESEROS, FRANCISCO (1990). Documentos del siglo XIV (3). Codom XII. Murcia. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio. Murcia. pp. 221-222

19.4. Olea 1384

1384-I-30. Los contadores mayores a todos los conçejos del obispado de Cartagena y reino de Murcia. Dando relación de lo que les correspondía pagar en las dos monedas últimas de este año. (A.M.M. C.R. 1380-1391, fol. 85v-86v y A.C. 1383, fol. 102r-103v).

A todos los conçeios e omnes buenos, alcalles e alguazil e otros ofiçales qualesquier e clerigos e legos e aljamas de judios e moros de las çibdades de Cartajena e de Murçia e de todas las villas e lugares del obispado de la dicha çibdat de Cartajena e regno de la dicha çibdat de Murçia que esta nomina fuere mostrada o el treslado della, signado de escriuano publico, los contadores mayores del rey vos enbiamos mucho saludar como aquellos para quien querriamos que diese Dios mucha onrra e buena ventura.

Bien sabedes en como el dicho señor rey vos enbia mandar por su carta o por su treslado della, signado de escriuano publico, que vos era mostrado, que dedes e paguedes a Johan Alfonso del Castillo, su recabdador mayor del dicho obispado e regno, e al que los ouiere de recabdar por el todos los maravedis que vos enbiasemos dezir de su parte por nuestra nomina, firmada de nuestros nonbres, en cuenta de los maravedis que auedes a dar de las dos monedas postrimeras este año de la data desta carta nomina, e que ge los dedes del dia que la dicha nomina o el dicho su treslado, signado como dicho es, vos fuere mostrado en los lugares acostunbrados, fasta ocho dias primeros siguientes, segund veredes por la dicha su carta. E agora sabed que los maravedis que ordeno el dicho señor rey que pagasedes luego cada vno de uos, los dichos conçeios e collaçiones e aljamas de judios e moros e clerigos e legos, en cuenta de las dichas dos monedas postrimeras al dicho plazo de los dichos ocho dias son estos que aqui dira en esta guisa:

La collaçion de San Johan de Raual, seyscientos e seys maravedis e terçio.... DCVI maravedis e terçio.

La collaçion de Santa Olalla, mill e dozientos e ochenta e siete maravedis e diez sueldos ..... IU CCLXXXVII maravedis e X sueldos.

La collaçion de Sant Lorenço, ochoçientos e sesenta e seys maravedis e çinco dineros ..... DCCCLXVI maravedis e V dineros.

La collaçion de Santa Maria, mill e quinientos e veynte e çinco maravedis e vn dinero e quatro cornados ...... IU DXXV maravedis e I dinero e IV cornados.

La collaçion de Sant Bartolome, seyszientos e setenta e seys maravedis e çinco dineros ...... DCLXXVI maravedis e V dineros.

La collaçion de Sant Pedro, mill e trezientos e ochenta maravedis e terçio..... IU CCCLXIX maravedis e VIII dineros e terçio.

La collaçion de Sant Nicolas, seyszientos e sesenta e nueue maravedis e ocho dineros e dos terçios ..... DCLXIX maravedis e VIII dineros e II terçios.

La collaçion de Sant Antolyn, mill e dozientos e nouenta e ocho maravedis .... IU CCXCVIII maravedis.

La collaçion de Santa Catalina, ochoçientos e treynta e tres maravedis e terçio.... DCCCXXXIII maravedis e terçio.

El aljama de los judios de Murçia, mill e setenta e ocho maravedis e çinco dineros ..... IU LXXVIII e V dineros.

El aljama de los moros de Murçia, dozientos e quarenta e çinco maravedis ... CCXLV maravedis.

Los que moran en las torres de la huerta de Murçia e los pastores, seysçientos e sesenta e seys maravedis e diez sueldos ... DCLXVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El conçeio de Alhama, nueueçientos e diez maravedis .....DCCCCX maravedis.

El aljama de los moros del Alcantariella, seysçientos e ochent e vn maravedis de VI dineros e quatro terçios ....DCLXXXI maravedis e VI dineros e IV terçios.

El aljama de los moros de Ferrand Carrillo, quatrozientos e diez e seys maravedis e diez sueldos .... CCCCXVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Çepty, trezientos e diez e seys maravedis e diez sueldo.... CCCXVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Lorqui e Archena, quatrozientos e diez e seys maravedis e diez sueldos.....CCCCXVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El conçeio de Çieca seysçientos e ochenta e çinco maravedis.... DCLXXXV maravedis.

El conçeio de Alhama, ochenta e tres maravedis e çinco dineros ...... LXXXIII maravedis e V dineros.

El aljama de los moros de Hauaniella, seysçientos e diez maravedis .... DCX maravedis.

El conçeio de Mula, seteçientos e veynte e ocho maravedis e X sueldos ..... DCCXXVIII maravedis e diez sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Albudeyte, trezientos e sesenta e seys maravedis e diez sueldos ..... CCCLXVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Canpos, dozientos e sesenta e quatro maravedis e X sueldos ..... CCLXIV maravedis e X sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Yechar, sesenta e seys maravedis ...... LXVI maravedis.

El aljama de los moros de Ricote, quatrozientos e çinquenta e VIII maravedis .....CCCCLVIII maravedis.

El aljama de los moros de Oxos, dozientos e quarenta e seys maravedis e I dinero..... CCXLVI maravedis e I dineros.

El aljama de los moros de **Olea**, dozientos e quarenta maravedis.... CCXL maravedis.

El aljama de los moros de Aznete, çient e çinquenta e nueue maravedis e terçia.... CLIX maravedis e terçio.

El aljama de los moros de **Blanca**, quatroçientos e treynta maravedis..... CCCCXXX maravedis.

El aljama de los moros de Hauaran, dozientos e diez e ocho maravedis..... CCXVIII maravedis.

El conçeio de Chinchilla, quatro mill e trezientos e setenta e ocho maravedis.... IVU CCCLXXVIII maravedis.

El conçeio de Almansa, seysçientos e ochenta e quatro maravedis e diez sueldos..... DCLXXXXIV maravedis e X sueldos.

El conçeio de Aluaçete, mill e dozientos e sesenta e vn maravedis e X sueldos.....IU CCLXI maravedis e X sueldos.

El conçeio de Yecla seteçientos e çinco maravedis e terçia.....DCCV maravedis e terçio.

El conçeio de Hellyn, nueueçientos e seys maravedis e diez sueldos...... DCCCCVI maravedis e X sueldos.

El aljama de los moros de Hellyn, quatrozientos e veynte e vn maravedis... CCCCXXI maravedis.

El aljama de los judios de Hellyn, çient e veynte e nueue maravedis....CXXXIX maravedis.

El conçeio de Touarra, quinientos e sesenta maravedis.....DLX maravedis.

El conçeio de Xorquera, nueueçientos e LX e tres maravedis e vn dinero.... DCCCCLXIII maravedis e I dinero.

El conçeio de Alcala, quatrozientos e veynte e çinco maravedis e X sueldos....CCCCXXV maravedis e X sueldos.

El conçeio de Ves, dozientos e ochenta e vn maravedi......CCLXXXI maravedis.

Porque voz dezimos de parte del dicho señor rey que veades esta dicha nomina e la cunplades en todo segund que en ella se contiene, pagando cada vnos de uos, los dichos conçeios e collaçiones e aljamas, los dichos maravedis en ella contenidos al dicho Iohan Alfonso del Castiello, su recabdador, o a los que lo ouieren de recabdar por el al plazo e en la manera que en la dicha carta del dicho señor rey o en el su traslado se contiene.

Fecha treynta dias de Enero del año del naçimiento del Nuestro Saluador Ihesu Christo de mill e trezientos e ochenta e quatro años. Pedro Ferrandez, Françisco Ferrandez.

19.5. A description of the region of Hascora

This region is bounded northward with certaine mountaines which adioine vpon Duccala; westward with a riuer running by the foote of mount Hadimmei, which we called before Tensift; and eastward by the riuer Quadelhabid, that is, the riuer of seruants, which riuer diuideth Hascora from Tedles. And so likewise the hils of Duccala doe separate Hascora from the Ocean sea. The inhabitants of this region are far more ciuil, then the people of Duccala. This province yeeldeth great abundance of oyle, of Marockin skinnes, and of goates, of whose haire they make cloath and sadles. And hither do all the bordering regions bring their goat-skins, whereof the foresaid Marockin or Cordouan leather is made. This people hath great traffique with the Portugals, with whom they exchange the foresaid leather and sadles, for cloath. Their coine is all one with the coine of Duccala. Also the Arabians vsually buy oyle and other necessaries out of this region. Now let vs in order describe all the townes and cities of the said region.

Of Elmadin a towne in Hascora.

THis towne of Hascora being called by the inhabitants Elmadin, is built vpon the side of mount Atlas, and containeth moe than two housand families. It standeth almost fourescore and ten miles eastward of Maroco, and about 60. miles from Duccala. Heere may you finde many leather-dressers, and all other kinde of artizans, with a great multitude of lewish merchants. This towne is enuironed with a certaine wood, which is full of oliue, and walnut-trees. The inhabitants are continually, in a manner, oppressed with warres among hemselues,and against a certaine little towne beeing fower miles distant from thence. Neither dare any come vpon the plaine lying betweene these two townes, (saue women onely and slaues) except he be well and strongly guarded. So that euerie man is faine to maintaine an harquebusier or archer for his defence, whom he monethly alloweth ten or twelue pieces of gold, which are woorth sixeteene ducates Italian. Likewise in Elmadin there are certaine men of great and profound learning, which are appointed to be iudges and notaries. Whatsoeuer tribute or custome

strangers doe pay, is deliuered vnto certaine treasurers and customers of the towne; which imploy it afterward for the publike benefite. They are likewise constrained to pay certaine tribute vnto the Arabians, for sundrie possessions which they enioy in the foresaide valley; but that money gaineth them at the Arabians hand ten times so much, or more. In my returne from Maroco I thought good to trauell by this towne, where I was right sumptuously entertained by one of Granada my countrey-man, who was exceeding rich, hauing serued as an archer in this region for fifteene yeeres. And albeit the towne of Elmadin had a stately hospitall, wherein all merchants trauelling that way, were entertained at the common charge: yet my countrey-man would not suffer vs there to lodge, but for three daies together most curteously welcommed my selfe, nine courtiers, and all the seruants and retinue which we brought with vs: vnto which companie of ours the townesmen presented, some of them calues, some lambes, and some other brought hens. Seeing vpon a time so many goates in the towne, I merily demaunded of my countrey-man, why he gaue vs no kidsflesh to eate: hee answered that that was accounted among them of all others the most base and homely meate. Their faire and beautifull women are so fonde of strangers that if secret occasion be offered they will not refuse their dishonest companie.

Of the citie of Alemdin.

Neere vnto the foresaide towne standeth another commonly called Alemdin, being situate fower miles to the west thereof in a valley, amidst fower most high hils, whereupon the place is exceeding cold. The inhabitants are merchants, artizans, and gentlemen, & families it containeth to the number of one thousand. This towne hath been at continuall war with the towne last before mentioned: but in our time both of them were by the meanes of a certaine merchant brought in subiection vnto the King of Fez, as we will now declare. There was a merchant of Fez which had a paramour in this towne, whom he determined foorthwith to marrie; but when the marriage day was come, this merchant was beguiled of his loue by the gouernour of the

towne himselfe, which disappointment grieued him full sore, albeit he dissembled the matter as well as he could. Returning home to the King of Fez, the said merchant presented vnto him most rich and costly gifts, making humble suite vnto his maiestie that hee would allow him an hundred principall archers, three hundred horsemen, and fower hundred footemen; saying, that himselfe would maintaine them all at his owne costs and charges, and would winne the said towne of Alemdin for the Kings behalfe, and would assure the King seuen thousand ducates for yeerely tribute. This offer pleased the King right well, and that he might declare his princely liberalitie, he would not suffer the merchant to giue wages vnto any, but onely to the archers. And so with all expedition he commanded his gouernour of Tedles to prouide the saide merchant so many horsemen and so many footmen, and two captaines ouer the armie. At length comming before Alemdin they besiged it sixe daies: which being expired, the townesmen told their gouernour in plaine terms, that they would not for his cause incur the king of Fez his displeasure, nor suffer any inconuenience. Whereupon he putting himselfe in a beggers weede, attempted to escape away: but being knowen and apprehended, he was brought before the merchant, who committed him to prison. And so the townesmen presently opening their gates receiued the merchant with all his troops, & yeelded themselues to him & to the king of Fez. The parents of the foresaid maid protested vnto the merchant, that the gouernour by maine force had depriued them of his paramour. Howbeit she herselfe was big with childe by the gouernour; but after the merchant knew that she was deliuered of her childe, he bore her affection againe, and at length married her. And the wretched gouernourwas the same day by the iudges pronounced guiltie of fornication, and was stoned to death. Well, the merchant remained gouernour and Lord of both townes, establishing most firme peace between them, & duely paying vnto the king of Fez all the yeerly tribute which he had promised. I my selfe afterward comming to the foresaide towne grew familiarly acquainted with this famous merchant. The same yeere departing from Fez I tooke my iourney towards Constantinople.

Of Tagodast a towne in Hascora.

This towne is built vpon the top of a certaine high mountaine, hauing fower other high mountaines round about it. Betweene which fower mountaines and the said towne are diuers most large and beautifull gardens replenished with all kinde of fruits: quinces here are of an incredible bignes. Their vines dispersing themselves vpon the boughes of trees doe make most pleasant bowers and walkes: the grapes whereof being red, are for their bignes, called in the language of that people, hennes egs. They haue here great abundance of oile and most excellent honie; some of their honie being white, and some yellow. This towne hath many fountaines about it, which ioyning into one streame, do serue for many water-mils thereabouts. Here are likewise great store of artizans, who exercise themselues onely about things necessarie. The inhabitants are somewhat ciuill, their women are most beautifull, being most gorgeously decked with siluer iewels. Their oile they carrie vnto the next cities southward of them on this side Atlas: but they send their leather vnto Fez and Mecnasa. Their plaine is almost sixe miles long: the soile being most fruitfull for corne: in regard whereof the townes-men pay certaine yeerely tribute vnto the Arabians. This towne hath iudges, priests, and a great number of gentlemen. Vpon a time as I trauelled this way, it was my hap to meete with a certaine ancient gouernour of the same place, who was growne blinde with extreme age. This aged sire (as by some I understood) was in his youth a most valiant and stout person, insomuch that after many other noble exploits, he slew with his owne hand fower captaines which were most deadly enemies vnto the people of Tagodast. And afterward he handled the matter so wisely, that he ioyned those in perfect league which before time had waged continual warre. Here no commonwealth-matter is concluded by the magistrates of the towne without his speciall aduice and authoritie. By this worthie Senatour my selfe with fower-score horsemen were honorably entertained, and had dainty meates euery day set before vs, of game which was newly hunted. He recounted most familiarly vnto vs all his labours which he had bestowed in concluding of the foresaid league: neither had this

good man any so entireand hidden secrets, which he reuealed not vnto vs, as to his louing friends. At my departure I offered him money for my selfe and my companie: but he, like a liberall man, would by no meanes accept of it; saying, that albeit he ought the king of Fez much dutie and good will, yet did he not bestowe that liberaltie for his sake: but that whatsoeuer wealth he enioied, his parents bequeathed vnto him vpon this condition, that he should shew himselfe kinde and bountifull vnto all his kinred, acquaintance, and strangers trauelling that way: and although he were free from that condition, yet his loue towards God, and the liberaltie which God had planted in him, could require no less at his hands. Yea, he said, that by Gods good blessing and prouidence he had reaped the same yeere seuen thousand bushels of corne; insomuch, that himselfe and all his neighbours were prouided for in abundance. Moreouer, that he possessed of sheepe and goates moc then an hundred thousand, the wooll whereof only, and some small portion of butter, he reserued for himself, but as for the cheese and milke, he gaue it all frankly vnto his shepherds. In this towne there is none that selleth either cheese, butter, milk, or any other such commoditie, though each one hath great abundance of cattell. Howbeit their hides, oile, and wooll they vtter in the prouinces thereabout. The reuerend sire added this moreouer: If it shall please (saith he) the king of Fez to returne home from Duccala through this my region, I will come foorth to meete him, and will submit my selfe wholly vnto him, as vnto my most liege soueraigne prince. Thus my selfe a meere stranger being so honorably dismissed by this woorthie Senatour, could not sufficiently commend his courtesie and bounteous dealing towards strangers.

Of the citie of Elginmuha.

Neere vnto the foresaid towne, within fine miles, standeth Elgiumuha. It was in our time built vpon the top of an high mountaine, and containeth to the number of five hundred families, besides so many families comprised in the villages of that mountaine. Here areinnumerable springs and fountaines, and most pleasant and fruitfull gardens in all places. Here are likewise walnut-trees huge and tall. The little hils enuironing this mountaine doe yeeld barlie and oliues in

great abundance. In the said towne are great numbers of artizans, as smithes, leather-dressers, and such like. And because they haue here notable yron-mines, they make plentie of horseshooes. And whatsoeuer commoditie proceedeth of their labour, they carrie it to forren regions where they thinke it is wanting: from whence they bring home slaues, woad, and the skins of certaine beastes, whereof they make most defensiue and warlike shields: these shields they transport vnto Fez, exchanging them there for weapons, cloth, and other such things as they stand in neede of. This towne standeth so neere vnto the high way, that the boyes will stand gazing and woondering at merchants as they come by, especially if they weare any strange attire. The residue of inhabitants vpon this mountaine are all commanded and gouerned by them of the towne. They say that the people of Tagodast aforesaid were the first founders of this towne: for so vpon a time it befell, that whereas the principall men of Tagodast grew to dissension among themselues, the common sort fauouring neither faction, built Elgiumuha, and left Tagodast to be inhabited by their gouernours: hence it is, that euen at this day they are here onely ignoble and base people, whereas there they are all gentlemen.

Of Bzo a towne in Hascora.

The ancient towne of Bzo is built vpon an high hill about twenty miles westward from the towne last mentioned. Within three miles of Bzo runneth the foresaid riuer of Guadelhabid. The townesmen are honest people, exercising merchandize, and going decently apparelled: To them which inhabite the deserts they carie cloth, oile, and leather. Their mountaines abound with oliues, corne, and all kinde of fruits: and of their grapes they make euery yeere most excellent and sweete raisins. Figs they haue great plentie: and their walnuttrees are so high, that a puttocke may securely builde his nest vpon the tops: for it is impossible for any man to climbe vp. On each side of the way which leadeth from hence to the riuer Guadelhabid there are most pleasant and beautifull gardens. My selfe (I remember) was here present when their oranges, figs, and other fruits were growen to ripenes; and was

entertained by a certainepriest, who dwelt not farre from a stately Mahumetan temple, standing by that riuer which runneth through the market-place of the towne.

19.6. Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld lava las orejas de los Imames

http://demoslimkrant.nl/home/2016/12/12702.html Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld wast imams de oren 20-12-2016 | Prof . Dr. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld  De meeste moslims die tegenwoordig in Europa leven hebben de nationaliteit aangenomen van een van de Europese staten. Een ander deel van hen verblijft hier op basis van een visum. Beide groepen zijn uiteraard verplicht tot volledige loyaliteit aan het land dat hen huisvesting biedt en beschermt, en tot gehoorzaamheid aan de wetten van dat Europese land. Daarover mag geen enkele twijfel bestaan. Toch zijn er nog steeds fuqahâ -imams- die van mening zijn dat voor een moslim alleen tijdelijk verblijf in Europa is toegestaan, terwijl residentie (iqâma) en naturalisatie (tajannus) zijn verboden. Tegen imams in Nederland die deze ideeën aanhangen zeg ik dat zij in strijd handelen met de Nederlandse	http://demoslimkrant.nl/home/2016/12/12702.html Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld lava las orejas de los Imames 20-12-2016 | Prof . Dr. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld  La mayoría de los musulmanes que viven en Europa han aprobado hoy la nacionalidad de uno de los Estados europeos. Otra parte de ellos se quedan aquí mediante un visado. Ambos grupos son, por supuesto, obligados a una lealtad completa al país que les ofrece vivienda y protección, y a obedecer las leyes del país europeo. Sobre esto no debe haber ninguna duda. Sin embargo, todavía hay *Fuqahâ* -Imames- que creen que para un musulmán sólo se permite la estancia temporal en Europa, mientras que la residencia (*Iqâma*) y la naturalización (*tajannus*) están prohibidas. Contra los

soevereiniteit en wetgeving wanneer zij zulke ideeën hier in of buiten de moskeeën verkondigen, en dat zij zo spoedig mogelijk moeten terugkeren naar hun land van origine. Imams die tegen naturalisatie zijn, moeten spoedig terugkeren naar hun land van origine. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl Sinds de dekolonisatie en het ontstaan van de Verenigde Naties zijn vrijwel alle staten van de wereldgemeenschap verbonden door een netwerk van verdragen en allianties. Ook alle staten met een islamitische meerderheidsbevolking, inclusief de IOC (Islamic Conference Organisation = Munazzamat al-Mu'tamar al-Islami), verbonden zijn met alle westerse staten in dit netwerk. De belangrijkste betekenis van dit netwerk aan verdragen is dat de basis van de internationale relaties vrede is, dus niet oorlog. Dit geldt ook voor de relaties tussen de staten van de islamitische wereld en de westerse staten. Dit betekent dat in de huidige tijd geen plaats meer is voor de gedachte dat de wereld zou bestaan uit twee gedeelten, namelijk een "Gebied van de Islam" (Dâr al-Islâm) en een "Gebied van de Oorlog" (Dâr al-Ḥarb, ook wel genaamd Dâr al-Kufr, "Gebied van het	imames en los Países Bajos que sostienen estas ideas, digo que están actuando en violación de la soberanía y las leyes holandesas cuando las proclaman, sea dentro o fuera de las mezquitas, y que deben regresar lo antes posible a su país de origen. "Imames que están contra la naturalización deben volver rápidamente a su país de origen", Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl (periódico musulmán) Desde la descolonización y el surgimiento de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas, casi todos los Estados del mundo están conectados por una red de tratados y alianzas. Además, todos los Estados con una población en su mayoría musulmana, incluyendo los pertenecientes a la COI (Organización de la Conferencia Islámica = Munazzamat Mu'tamar al-al-Islami), están conectados a todos los Estados del occidente pertenecientes al organismo. La principal importancia de esta red de acuerdos es que la base de las relaciones internacionales es la paz, no la guerra. Esto también se aplica a las relaciones entre los Estados del mundo islámico y los Estados occidentales, y refiere que no hay lugar en el momento presente para la idea de que el mundo podría constar de dos partes: el "Campo del Islam" (*Dar al-Islam*) y el "Campo de la guerra" (*Dar al-Harb*, también conocido como *Dar al-Kufr,* "campo de la incredulidad"). Este

Ongeloof"). Deze klassieke gedachte is nauw verbonden aan de opvatting dat de gehele wereld door de Jihâd zou moeten worden overwonnen.	concepto clásico está estrechamente relacionado a la creencia de que se debería superar/vencer al mundo entero a través de la yihad.
Maar in de huidige tijd is geen plaats meer voor deze gedachte, en blijft slechts de doctrine van de "verdedigende jihad" over (al-jihâd al-difâʿî). Voor de doctrine een "aanvallende jihad" (al-jihâd al-hujûmî) is in de huidige tijd geen enkele plaats. Terroristische aanslagen in Europa worden soms verdedigd als "martelaars-acties" (ʿamaliyyât istishhâdiyya) ten dienste van de "verdedigende jihad" in andere landen, bijvoorbeeld in Afghanistan, Syrië of Palestina.	En la actualidad, no existe espacio para la doctrina "yihad ofensiva" (al-Jihad al-hujûmî), por lo que solo queda la doctrina *"yihâd defensiva"* sobre (*al-yihâd al-difâ'î*) Ataques terroristas en Europa son a veces defendidos como acciones "mártires" (*amaliyyât istishhâdiyya*) que sirven a la *"yihâd defensiva"* en otros países, por ejemplo, en Afganistán, Siria o Palestina.
Imams die dergelijke ideeën hier verspreiden maken zich schuldig aan medewerking aan terroristische aanslagen en moeten streng worden bestraft en het land uitgezet. Imams die terroristische aanslagen in Europa verdedigen als "martelaars-acties moeten het land uit. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl	Imames que propagan tales ideas se hacen culpables de participar en ataques terroristas y deben ser severamente castigados y expulsados. "Imames que defienden ataques terroristas en Europa como acciones "mártires" deben salir del país", Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl.
De Nederlandse Grondwet en het Europese Verdrag voor de Rechten van de Mens en de Politieke Rechten zijn de belangrijkste grondslagen van de Nederlandse staat en samenleving. Deze documenten en de daarop gebaseerde	La Constitución holandesa, la Convención Europea de Derechos Humanos y los derechos políticos son los fundamentos principales del Estado holandés y su sociedad. Estos documentos, y el derecho basado sobre

rechtspraak bepalen in vergaande mate de vrijheden van de mensen in Nederland evenals de grenzen van deze vrijheden.	tales fundamentos, determinan en gran medida las libertades de las personas en los Países Bajos, así como los límites de estas libertades.
Voor imams die in Nederland werkzaam zijn is van groot belang om deze documenten en de daarop gebaseerde rechtspraak te bestuderen. Hun positie en de grenzen van hun handelingsvrijheid worden daardoor sterk bepaald. Ditzelfde geldt voor de positie van de islam als godsdienst. Hierna zal ik ingaan op de drie belangrijkste vrijheden die in deze documenten worden vermeld.	Para los Imames que trabajan en los Países Bajos es muy importante estudiar estos documentos y la jurisprudencia relacionada. Su posición y los límites de su libertad se determinan, en gran medida, por dichos principios. Lo mismo aplica a la posición del islam como una religión. De ahora en adelante voy a discutir las tres libertades fundamentales establecidas en estos documentos.
Vrijheid van godsdienst betekent binnen de Europese en Nederlandse context dat iedereen de vrijheid heeft om de godsdienst van zijn keuze aan te hangen, maar ook om deze te verwerpen. Mensen hebben ook het recht om geen enkele godsdienst aan te hangen. Tegenwoordig zegt een belangrijk percentage van de inwoners van Nederland geen enkele godsdienst aan te hangen.	La libertad de religión significa en el contexto europeo y holandés, que todo el mundo tiene la libertad de adherirse a la religión de su elección, pero también la libertad de rechazarla. Las personas también tienen derecho a adherirse a ninguna religión. Hoy en día, un porcentaje significativo de la población de los Países Bajos no se adhieren a ninguna religión.
De Europese definitie van “godsdienst” is sterk gevormd in de tijd van de Franse Revolutie, toen de maatschappelijke en politieke macht van de Kerk werd gebroken en de heersende wetgeving werd geseculariseerd, binnen het kader van de scheiding van godsdienst en staat. Deze historische ontwikkelingen hebben ook zeer belangrijke gevolgen voor Nederland gehad.	La definición europea de la "religión" se formó fuertemente en la época de la Revolución Francesa, cuando el poder social y político de la Iglesia estaba roto y la legislación vigente fue secularizada, en el marco de la separación entre religión y Estado. Estos acontecimientos históricos también han tenido consecuencias muy importantes para los Países Bajos.
De godsdienst waarvoor de vrijheid van de Grondwet geldt, bestaat uit het geloof, de rituelen, de ethiek en de	La libertad de religión aplicada conforme a la Constitución, incluye las creencias, los rituales, la ética y la

spiritualiteit. Er bestaat echter geen vrijheid om religieuze wetten van maatschappelijke aard toe te passen. In islamitische termen kunne we stellen dat de geloofsleer (ʿaqida), de rituele voorschriften (ʿibâdât), de ethiek (akhlâq) en de spirituele zaken (rûḥâniyyât) op vrijheid aanspraak kunnen maken. Maar dit geldt niet voor de sociale voorschriften van de islam (de muʿâmalât).	espiritualidad. Sin embargo, no hay libertad para aplicar las leyes religiosas de carácter social. En términos islámicos, podemos afirmar que la fe (*ʹaqida*), los reglamentos rituales (*ʹibâdât*), ética (*akhlâq*) y los asuntos espirituales (*rûḥâniyyât*) pueden reclamar esta libertad. Pero la libertad de religión no se aplica a las normas sociales del islam (*la muʹâmalât*).
Het heersende principe is dat de wet voor iedereen dezelfde. Geen enkel verschil krachtens godsdienst is toegestaan. Daarom bestaat geen ruimte voor het islamitische familierecht (evenmin voor het christelijke en joodse of hindoeïstische familierecht).	El principio vigente es que la ley es igual para todos. No hay diferencia permitida con ajuste a la religión. Por lo tanto, no hay lugar para la Ley islámica de la familia (tampoco para la Ley (de la familia) cristiana, judía o hindú).
Imams mogen geen religieus huwelijk sluiten. Voor het civiel huwelijk. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl	"Imames no pueden celebrar un matrimonio religioso por lo civil", Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl.
Het is bijvoorbeeld een geestelijk ambtsdrager, dus ook een imam, niet toegestaan een religieus huwelijk te sluiten voordat de betrokken echtgenoten een civiel huwelijk hebben gesloten ten overstaan van de ambtenaar van de burgerlijke stand. Overtreding van deze wettelijke bepaling, welke geregeld voorkomt in Nederland, leidt tot ernstige problematisering van de relatie tussen overheden in imams, en tot	Por ejemplo, un ministro espiritual, incluyendo un imam, no puede celebrar un matrimonio religioso antes de que los cónyuges hayan celebrado un matrimonio civil frente al funcionario del registro civil. La violación de esta disposición legal, que se produce regularmente en los Países Bajos, conduce a una grave problematización de la relación entre las autoridades y de los imames, y a un deterioro de su

verslechtering van hun positie binnen de Nederlandse samenleving als geheel.	posición dentro de la sociedad holandesa en su conjunto.
De wetgeving is, zoals ik reeds opmerkte, geseculariseerd, hetgeen onder meer tot uitdrukking komt in het eerste artikel van onze Grondwet, waarin de gelijkheid van alle mensen voor de wet wordt benadrukt en discriminatie wegens godsdienst, afkomst, huidskleur en dergelijke uitdrukkelijk wordt verboden.	La legislación es como ya he dicho, secularizada, que entre otras cosas se refleja en el primer artículo de nuestra Constitución, en el que se enfatiza la igualdad de todas las personas ante la ley y se prohíbe la discriminación por motivos de religión, raza, etnia y similares.
Vrijheid van godsdienst betekent onder andere ook dat religieuze groepen de vrijheid hebben om hun godsdienstige instituties zoals moskeeën op te richten en hun eigen geestelijke leiders, zoals imams, te kiezen, te benoemen en ook op te leiden.	La libertad de religión significa, entre otras cosas, que los grupos religiosos tienen la libertad para concentrarse en sus instituciones religiosas, tales como mezquitas, y elegir, nombrar y educar a sus propios líderes espirituales, incluyendo los imames.
Wanneer deze imams uit het buitenland worden gehaald en zij krachtens een werkvisum Nederland binnenkomen, heeft overheid uiteraard het recht om een onderzoek in te stellen naar de betrokken persoon alvorens deze het gevraagde visum te verstrekken.	Cuando estos imames son traídos desde el extranjero y entran en los Países Bajos mediante un visado/permiso de trabajo, el Gobierno, naturalmente, tiene el derecho de investigar a la persona antes de expedir la visa solicitada.
Imams die de Nederlandse staat en Grondwet niet eerbiedigen. Mogen uitgezet worden. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl	“Imames que no respeten al Estado holandés y La Constitución pueden ser expulsados”, Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl.
Overtreding van de verplichting tot eerbiediging van de Nederlandse	La violación de la obligación de respetar la legislación holandesa y la lealtad al Estado holandés, que se

wetgeving en loyaliteit aan de Nederlandse staat, die aan dit visum is verbonden. Leidt tot uitzetting van de imam in kwestie. Dit is in de afgelopen jaren verschillende keren gebeurd. Vrijheid van meningsuiting wordt beschouwd als een kostbaar recht. Maar ook dit recht is niet onbegrensd, zoals onder andere uit de recente rechtszaak tegen de politicus Geert Wilders is gebleken. Deze had in een verkiezingsbijeenkomst gepleit voor “minder Marokkanen” in Nederland. De rechter beschouwde zijn oproep als een “belediging van een groep mensen”, evenals “het aanzetten tot discriminatie”, in dit geval van de groep van inwoners van Nederland met een Marokkaanse achtergrond. Het is in Nederland dus verboden om groepen van mensen te beledigen, bijvoorbeeld *de* moslims, *de* joden, *de* zigeuners, enzovoort. Daarentegen is het niet verboden om kritiek uit te oefenen op ideologieën en godsdienstige stelsels, zoals bijvoorbeeld het socialisme, het christendom, de islam, enzovoort. Dit geldt ook voor uitspraken die met name door gelovigen als sterk beledigend worden ervaren, bijvoorbeeld ten aanzien van de profeet van de islam, de koran, enzovoort. Dezelfde Wilders maakte enkele jaren gelden een film, “Fitna” genaamd, met een reeks van beledigende uitspraken over de profeet van de islam en de koran, maar werd door de rechter van elke aanklacht vrijgesproken.	asocia con este visado, conduce a la expulsión del imam en cuestión. Esto ha ocurrido varias veces en los últimos años. La libertad de expresión se considera un derecho precioso. Sin embargo, este derecho no es ilimitado, como demostró un juicio reciente contra el político Geert Wilders. Éste había abogado, en una reunión electoral, por "menos marroquíes” en los Países Bajos. El tribunal consideró que su llamamiento fue una "ofensa a un grupo de personas", así como "incitación a la discriminación", en este caso, al grupo de vecinos de los Países Bajos de origen marroquí. Por tanto, queda prohibido en los Países Bajos ofender a grupos de personas, por ejemplo, a los musulmanes, a los judíos, a los gitanos, y así sucesivamente. Por el contrario, no está prohibido criticar las ideologías y los sistemas religiosos como el socialismo, el cristianismo, el islam, y así sucesivamente. Esto también se aplica para declaraciones, que sobre todo por los creyentes, son experimentadas como muy ofensivas, por ejemplo, con respecto al profeta del islam, el Corán, y así sucesivamente. Wilders hizo lo mismo hace unos años con una película: "Fitna", con una serie de declaraciones difamatorias sobre el profeta del islam y el Corán, pero fue absuelto por el tribunal de cualquier acusación.

In Europa, en ook in Nederland, wordt deze vrijheid ook als essentieel onderdeel van de vrijheid van de kunstenaar beschouwd. Ik zou hier een lange reeks van voorbeelden kunnen noemen. Ik herinner niet alleen aan de Rushdie-affaire, maar ook aan de moord op de filmmaker Theo van Gogh. Beide kunstenaars hadden in hun uitspraken zware kritiek en sterk beledigende beelden over de islam, de profeet van de islam en de koran gebruikt.	En Europa, incluyendo los Países Bajos, esta libertad también se considera una parte esencial de la libertad del artista. Podría mencionar una larga lista de ejemplos. Recuerdo, no sólo el caso Rushdie, sino también el asesinato del cineasta Theo van Gogh. Ambos artistas tenían en sus juicios severas críticas y fuertes imágenes ofensivas sobre el islam, utilizando el profeta del islam y el Corán.
Moslims en hun imams moeten leren leven met de vrijheid van de kunst. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl	“Musulmanes y sus imames deben aprender vivir con la libertad del arte”, Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl.
Ik herinner aan de aanslag in Parijs op de medewerkers van het satirische blad Charlie Hebdo en aan de bedreigingen van de Deense karikaturist Westergaard, die de profeet afbeeldde met een bom als tulband. De vrijheid van de kunst wordt als een essentieel onderdeel gezien van de westerse cultuur, en gelovigen, ook gelovige moslims en hun imams, zullen dit als een realiteit moeten accepteren, waarmee ze zullen moeten leren leven.	Recuerdo el atentado en París del personal de la revista satírica Charlie Hebdo y las amenazas del caricaturista danés Westergaard, que representa al profeta con una bomba como turbante. La libertad del arte es vista como una parte esencial de la cultura occidental, y los creyentes, fieles musulmanes y sus imames deberán aceptarlo como una realidad, con la cual deberán aprender vivir.
Vrijheid van onderwijs wordt beschouwd als een kostbaar goed, waarvoor in de Nederlandse geschiedenis met name christelijke groepen hebben gestreden. Andere	La libertad de enseñanza se considera un bien muy preciado, por la cual, en la historia holandesa, lucharon principalmente grupos cristianos. Otros grupos religiosos como los judíos y musulmanes tienen los mismos

religieuze groepen, zoals joden en moslims, genieten hetzelfde recht, en we zijn er getuige van geweest hoe de afgelopen dertig jaar een netwerk van islamitische scholen is ontstaan die voor 100% door de staat worden gefinancierd. Natuurlijk is de kwaliteit van het gegeven onderwijs onderworpen aan geregelde inspectie, en dit geldt ook voor het godsdienstonderwijs.	derechos, y hemos sido testigos de cómo en los últimos treinta años se ha creado una red de escuelas islámicas financiadas por el Estado en un 100%. Por supuesto, la calidad de la educación que se imparte es objeto de inspecciones periódicas, y esto también se aplica a la educación religiosa.
Opvattingen die strijdig zijn met de Nederlandse Grondwet worden uiteraard niet getolereerd. We zien overigens dat onder de talrijke studenten van islamitische achtergrond aan Nederlandse universiteiten geen belangstelling blijkt te bestaan om hun studie aan een islamitische universiteit te verrichten.	Creencias que están en conflicto con la Constitución holandesa, obviamente, no son toleradas. Por cierto, vemos que, entre los numerosos estudiantes de origen musulmán en las universidades holandesas, ningún interés parece existir entre ellos para llevar a cabo sus estudios en una universidad islámica.
Zogenaamde islamitische “universiteiten” in Rotterdam zijn geen universiteiten. Prof . Dr. van Koningsveld demoslimkrant.nl	“Las llamadas Universidades islámicas en Rotterdam no son Universidades”, Prof. Dr. Van Koningsveld. Publicado en www.demoslimkrant.nl.
De beide zogenaamde islamitische “universiteiten” die in Rotterdam bestaan, zijn eigenlijk geen universiteiten maar instellingen waar islamitische studies op het niveau van HBO wordt beoefend.	Las dos llamadas "universidades" islámicas que existen en Rotterdam, en realidad no son universidades, sino instituciones donde se practican estudios islámicos en el nivel secundario del Instituto.
De naam universiteit heeft betrekking op een instelling van hoger onderwijs in	El nombre de la universidad se refiere a una institución de educación superior

verschillende faculteiten, zoals geneeskunde, talen, rechten, sociale wetenschappen en dergelijke. De beide islamitische “universiteiten” in Rotterdam hebben hiermee niets te maken. De rol van de imams bij de bestrijding van extremisme is op korte termijn de eerbiediging van de regels van de Nederlandse wet en samenleving . Op langere termijn worden zij uitgedaagd om een boodschap van de islam te formuleren die beter aansluit bij de situatie in de westerse wereld, inclusief Nederland. Prof . Dr. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *emeritus hoogleraar islamstudies, Universiteit Leiden. Deze tekst sprak hij uit op 18 december jl. op uitnodiging van de Stichting Salam in Eindhoven tijdens de slotzitting van hun driedaagse trainingprogramma voor imams rond de bestrijding van extremisme.*	en diferentes facultades como la medicina, idiomas, derecho, ciencias sociales y similares. Ambas “universidades” islámicas en Rotterdam, no tienen nada que ver con esto. El papel de los imames en la lucha contra el extremismo es a corto plazo respetar las normas del derecho holandés y la sociedad holandesa. A más largo plazo, tienen ellos el reto de formular un mensaje del islam que se ajuste mejor a la situación en el mundo occidental, incluyendo los Países Bajos. Prof. Dr. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *profesor emérito de Estudios Islámicos, Universidad de Leiden.* *Este texto se pronunció el 18 de diciembre del año pasado por invitación de la Fundación Salam en Eindhoven durante la sesión final de su programa de entrenamiento de tres días para los Imames alrededor de la lucha contra el extremismo.*
	Autorización recibida el 14 de agosto de 2017 del Prof. Koningsveld para publicar mi traducción en castellano en mi libro: **The Berber Hamlet Aldarache in the 11th-13th centuries. The origin of the Puerto de la Losilla, the Cabezo de la Cobertera and the village Negra (Blanca) in the Ricote Valley** Traducción del holandés: (c) Govert Westerveld Copyright Number: JTJQ-YMX6-PIPL-QEHX 20-8-2017 10.10 AM

Books written by Govert Westerveld

Most of my books, written in English, Spanish and Dutch, are in the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek – KB) in The Hague.

Nº	Year	Title	ISBN
01	1990 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero I. 132 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-7665-697-1 None
02	1992 2014	Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors. Damas españolas: 100 golpes de apertura coronando dama. 116 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3888-0 None
03	1992 2014	Damas españolas: 100 problemas propios con solamente peones. Damas españolas: 100 problemas propios con solamente peones. 108 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3887-2 None
04	1992 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, II Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, II. 124 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-3886-4 None
05	1992 2014	Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, III Las Damas: ciencia sobre un tablero, III. 124 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-4043-5 None
06	1992	Libro llamado Ingenio...juego de marro de punta: hecho por Juan de Timoneda. (Now not edited).	84-604-4042-7
07	1993 2014	Pedro Ruiz Montero: Libro del juego de las damas vulgarmente nombrado el marro. Pedro Ruiz Montero: Libro del juego de las damas vulgarmente nombrado el marro. 108 pages. Lulu Editors.	84-604-5021-X None
08	1997	De invloed van de Spaanse koningin Isabel la Católica op de nieuwe sterke dame in de oorsprong van het dam- en moderne schaakspel. Spaanse literatuur, jaren 1283-1700. In collaboration with Rob Jansen. 329 pages. (Now not edited)	84-605-6372-3

09	1997	Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Foreword: Prof. Dr. Juan Torres Fontes, University of Murcia. 900 pages.	84-923151-0-5
	2014	Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Volume I. 672 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-80895-7
	2014	Historia de Blanca, lugar más islamizado de la región murciana, año 711-1700. Volume I. 364 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-29-80974-9
10	2001	Blanca, "El Ricote" de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. Foreword of Prof. Dr. Francisco Márquez Villanueva – University of Harvard – USA. 1004 pages.	84-923151-1-3
	2014	Blanca, "El Ricote" de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. 552 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-80122-4
	2014	Blanca, "El Ricote" de Don Quijote: expulsión y regreso de los moriscos del último enclave islámico más grande de España, años 1613-1654. 568 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-80311-2
11	2004	Inspiraciones	Without publising
12	2004	La reina Isabel la Católica: su reflejo en la dama poderosa de Valencia, cuña del ajedrez moderno y origen del juego de damas. In collaboration with José Antonio Garzón Roger. Foreword: Dr. Ricardo Calvo. Generalidad Valeciana. Consellería de Cultura, Educació i Esport. Secretaría Autonómica de Cultura. 426 pages.	84-482-3718-8
13	2006	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume I. Foreword: Prof. Ángel Alcalá – University of New York. 441 pages. (bubok.com)	10:84-923151-4-8
	2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume I. 441 pages (bubok.com)	None
14	2007	Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Ana Felix y el morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote en "Don Quijote II" del año 1615 (capítulos 54, 55, 63, 64 y 65. Dedicated to Prof.Francisco Márquez Villanueva of the University of Harvard. 384	10:84-923151-5-6

		pages.	
	2014	El Morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote. Volume I. 306 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-326-09629-8
	2014	El Morisco Ricote del Valle de Ricote. Volume II. 318 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-09679-3
15	2008	Damas Españolas: El contragolpe. 112 pages. Lulu Editors.	10:84-923151-9-2
16	2008	Biografía de Doña Blanca de Borbón (1336-1361). El pontificado y el pueblo en defensa de la reina de Castilla. 142 pages.	10:84-923151-7-2
	2015	Biografía de doña Blanca de Borbón (1336-1361). 306 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-326-47703-5
17	2008	Biografía de Don Fadrique, Maestre de la Orden de Santiago (1342-1352). 122 pages.	10:84-923151-6-4
		Biografía de Don Fadique, Maestre de la Orden de Santiago. 228 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-47359-4
18	2008	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume II. 142 pages. (Now not edited)	10:978-84-612-604-0-9
	2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume II. 142 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	None
19	2008	El reino de Murcia en tiempos del rey Don Pedro, el Cruel (1350-1369). 176 pages	13:978-84-612-6037-9
	2015	El reino de Murcia en el tiempo del rey Don Pedro I el Cruel (1350-1369). 336 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-326-47531-4
20	2008	Los comendadores del Valle de Ricote. Siglos XIII-XIV. Volume I. 178 pages	13:978-84-612-6038-6
	2015	Los Comendadores del Valle de Ricote. Siglox XIII-XIV. 316 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-326-47485-0
21	2009	Doña Blanca y Don Fadrique (1333-1361) y el cambio de Negra (Murcia) a Blanca. 511 pages.	13:978-84-612-6039-3
	2015	De Negra a Blanca. Tomo I. 520 pages.	978-1-326-47805-6
	2015	De Negra a Blanca Tomo II. 608 pages Lulu Editors	978-1-326-47872-8
22	2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume III. 351 pages. (Godofredo Valle de Ricote).	13:978-84-613-2191-9
	2015	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume III. 424 pages. (bubok.com)	None
23	2009	Los tres autores de La Celestina. Volume IV. 261 pages. (Godofredo Valle de Ricote).	13:978-84-613-2189-6
	2015	Tres autores de La Celestina. Volumen IV.	None

		312 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	
24	2010	El monumento del Morisco Ricote y Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. 80 pages.	13:978-84-613-2549-8
25	2011 2012	Un ejemplo para España, José Manzano Aldeguer, alcalde de Beniel (Murcia), 1983-2001. 470 pages. Foreword: Ramón Luis Valcárcel Sisa. (Now not edited) Un ejemplo para España, José Manzano Aldeguer, alcalde de Beniel (Murcia), 1983-2001. 470 pages. Ebook (bubok.com)	978-84-614-9221-3 None
26	2012	The History of Checkers of William Shelley Branch. 182 pages. (Now not edited).	None
27	2013	Biografía de Juan Ramírez de Lucena. (Embajador de los Reyes Católicos y padre del ajedrecista Lucena). 240 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-66911-4
28	2016	El tratado contra la carta del Prothonotario de Lucena. 182 pages. (Now not edited)	None
29	2012	La obra de Lucena: “Repetición de amores”. 83 pages. (Now not edited)	None
30	2012	El libro perdido de Lucena: “Tractado sobre la muerte de Don Diego de Azevedo”. 217 pages. (bubok.com)	None
31	2012	De Vita Beata de Juan de Lucena. 86 pages. (Ebook – bubok.com)	None
32	2013	Biografía de Maurice Raichenbach, campeón mundial de las damas entre 1933-1938. Volume I. 357 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68772-9
33	2013	Biografía de Maurice Raichenbac, campeón mundial de las damas entre 1933-1938. Volume II. 300 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68769-9
34	2013	Biografía de Amadou Kandié, jugador fenomenal senegal´s de las Damas entre 1894-1895. 246 pages. Lulu Editors.	978-1-291-68450-6
35	2013	The History of Alquerque-12. Spain and France. Volume I. 388 pages. Lulu Editors	978-1-291-66267-2
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